



RACINE.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

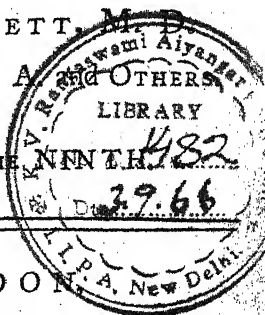
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Of the POLITE ARTS.

TRUE philosophy made not so considerable a progress in France as in England and Florence; and though the academy of sciences was particularly serviceable to human nature, it did not set the character of France above that of other nations; all the noblest inventions and great truths had their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, poetry, and polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French must be considered as the legislators of Europe. There was no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was every where unknown; religion was ridiculously delivered from the pulpit; and the pleadings at the bar were as bad. Virgil and Ovid were quoted by

the preachers; St. Jerom and St. Augustine by the lawyers. No man had yet appeared of genius sufficient to polish the French tongue, to enrich it with harmony, propriety of expression and dignity. That it was capable of grandeur and force, was indeed evident from some verses of Malherbe; but this was all. President de Thou, chancellor de l'Hopital, and other celebrated writers, who had expressed themselves to such advantage in the Latin language, made but a poor figure in their native tongue; it was too much for them to manage. The French was as yet only valuable for a certain air of simplicity, in which solely consisted the merits of Joinville, Amiot, Marot, Montagne, Reginer, and the satire Menippe; nor was this simplicity unincumbered by irregularity and rusticity. John de Lingendes, bishop of Mâcon, at present unknown, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who declaimed with sublimity. His sermons and funeral orations, though something obscured by the rust of the time in which he lived, were models for those by whom he was imitated and surpassed. In 1630, he pronounced the funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed, in his own country, the Great. It abounded with such fine strokes of eloquence, that Flechier long after took from thence the exordium, text, and many considerable passages, to adorn his famous funeral oration upon the viscount de Turenne.

It was about this time that Balsac gave measure and harmony to prose. His letters are, it is true, often bombastic. He writes to the first cardinal de Retz, "You are come from taking

the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses." Speaking of perfumed waters, in a letter from Rome to Bois Robert, "I have escaped by swimming in my chamber through the midst of perfumes." With all these faults he charms the ear: such power has eloquence over the mind of man, that Balzac was now admired for having found out that small portion of this art, so necessary, yet so little known, which directs an harmonious choice of words; and he was even praised for having often misplaced them.

Voiture gave some idea of the light graces of that epistolary stile, which is by no means the best, because it consists only of pleasantry. It is owing to a trifling imagination, that in his two volumes of letters not one of them is instructive, or seems to come from the heart. None of them depict the manners of the times, the characters of men. They are rather an abuse than exercise of genius.

The language was refined by degrees, and obtained something of a fixed form. We are for this obliged to the academy of sciences, and particularly to Vaugelas. The first well written book was his translation of Quintus Curtius, which was published in 1646; and wherein, even now, there are but few obsolete phrases and expressions. Oliver Patru, who follows next, contributed much to regulate and refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, we owe to him order, perspicuity, and elegance of harangue, merits absolutely unknown at the bar. The little collection of maxims written by Francis duke of Rochefoucault, was one of the works that contributed to form the taste of the nation, to com-

4 Of the POLITE ARTS.

municate a spirit of precision and propriety: though in this book there is scarcely more than this one truth: "Self love is the primum mobile of all our actions." Yet this one thought appears in such various lights, that it is always striking. It is rather a collection of materials to adorn a book than a book itself. It was read with eagerness; it accustomed us to think, and to comprise our thoughts in a spirited, determinate, delicate turn of phrase. No other writer in Europe could boast this merit since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius that appeared in prose was the collection of Provincial Letters in 1654. Herein may be found every species of eloquence: though an hundred years are past since that publication, not a single word occurs in it favouring of that change and alteration to which living languages are so very liable. With this work then we may fix the epocha when our language obtained a settled form. The bishop of Luçon, son to the celebrated Bossuet, told me, that having asked Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, what work he would have chosen to be the author of, setting his own performances out of the question, he answered, the Provincial Letters.

The fine taste which runs through the whole of this book, and the strength of the last letters, were not yet of force sufficient to correct that dispirited, diffuse, incorrect, harsh stile, which had been so long in use with our writers, preachers, and lawyers.

A new light arose in 1668. This was father Bourdaloue; he was the first who maintained in the pulpit a noble uniformity of eloquence. Other orators have since appeared in the pulpit,

as Massillon, bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue. In his stile, more nervous than florid, without appealing to fancy for expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing than inflaming; and he never labours to please. Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so long debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon one text. In reality, to speak for a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary one's self in accommodating the whole discourse to that single line, seems to be a play on words little suiting the gravity of a divine. The text is a kind of device or enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of letters, and has been made sacred by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three points things that in themselves require no division, as morality; or that require to be more minutely divided, as controversy, is an arbitrary custom which this great preacher found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterwards so great a man, was at first intended for the bar, and contracted when very young to mademoiselle Desvieux, a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence, whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relations and

friends resolved to bequeath him rather to the church. Mademoiselle Desvieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending with him her life. In 1662, he being yet very young, he preached before the king and the queen-mother; this was long before father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been delivered at court with any marks of sublimity; and they were so well received, that the king caused a letter to be written in his own name to Bossuet's father, the intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, monsieur Bossuet was no longer esteemed the first preacher when father Bourdaloue appeared. The former had applied himself to the composing funeral orations; a species of eloquence that admits of being adorned by imagination, and requires a majestic grandeur bordering upon poetry, from which it must borrow somewhat, though restricted when it aims at the sublime. In 1667, he pronounced the funeral oration of the queen-mother, and it procured him the bishopric of Condom: it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed; nor were his sermons. The funeral eulogium upon the queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he delivered in 1669, is allowed to be a master-piece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the personages whom they celebrate. It is in these pieces of writing as in tragedy, where we are interested for the principal characters, in proportion as

their misfortunes encrease. His funeral oration upon the dutchess of Orleans, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and may be said to have expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears: he was obliged to stop at these words: "Oh! disastrous night! night teeming with horror and confusion, in which the astonishing news of madame is dying; she is already dead, burst upon us like a clap of thunder." His auditors were filled with grief; and the voice of the orator was for some time lost in their tears and their sighs.

- The French only succeeded in this kind of eloquence. A new one was soon after invented by the same man, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the charms of oratory to history itself; the simplicity of which seems to exclude such assistance. His discourse upon universal history, written for the use of the dauphin, is without model or imitation. If he has been opposed by the learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology to that of other nations, nevertheless his stile has been universally admired. The world was astonished at that majestic force with which he describes manners and government, the rise and fall of vast empires, and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints the manners, and judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honour upon this age were of a species unknown to antiquity. Among them is *Telemachus*. This extraordinary book, in which at once unite the powers of romance and poetry, the stile of which is a measured prose bordering upon ver-

ification, was composed by Fenelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet ; though afterwards, much against his will, he became his rival and his enemy. One would think Fenelon had a mind to treat romance as the bishop of Meaux had done history, by enduing it with dignity and charms before unknown ; but more especially by drawing from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind ; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed he composed this work to serve as themes of instruction to the duke of Burgundy, and the two other children of France, he being their preceptor, as Bossuet had formed his universal history to help the education of the dauphin : but I was assured of the contrary by the marquis de Fénélon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocou. Nor does it indeed seem probable that the first lessons furnished by a priest to the children of France should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was after he received orders to retire to his diocese of Cambray that he composed this performance. Well read in the ancients, and blest with a strong and glowing imagination, he formed a style peculiar to himself, and he wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript ; there are not ten blots in the whole. It is pretended that the first impression was from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be the case, the archbishop owes all the reputation which he has acquired to this breach of trust ; but to the same cause he is indebted for being ever after out of favour at court.

court. Some people have imagined they could trace in Telemachus an indirect critique upon the government of Lewis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who confirmed the reign of luxury in Salentum, and neglected œconomy, were thought striking portraits of that monarch: yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity without an extraordinary cultivation of the most essential and necessary arts. His minister Louvois was found by the malecontents in the character of Protefilaus, who is represented as vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to tho'se great generals who chose to serve the state and not the minister.

The allies, who in the war of 1688 united against Lewis XIV. and who in 1701 shook his throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbours. These allusions made the deeper impression, because of the harmony of the stile, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind thro' a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable: I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, the malignity of mankind ceased to point out those pretended allusions which censured his conduct; and judges of the correctest taste have treated Telemachus with severity. They blamed it as tedious and circumstantial; they alledged that there was too little connection

tion in the adventures; that his descriptions of a country-life occur too often, and are too much of a piece; yet the book has been always esteemed a fine monument of a flourishing age.

Among these may be always counted the Characters of la Bruiere. We have no copies of such a work among the ancients, no more than of Telemachus. A stile rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions animated and picturesque; an entire new use of language, without infringing any established rules, now first struck the eye of the public, and the allusions, which every where occur in the course of the work, confirmed its success. When la Bruiere shewed his work in manuscript to Malesieux, "It will procure you (said he) many readers and many enemies." The reputation of this book was lowered in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. Telemachus has had some imitators; la Bruiere's characters many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

The happy art of associating the graces with philosophy was a new thing, of which the Plurality of Worlds was the first specimen; it was indeed a dangerous one, because the native dress of philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, and truth above all. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked among our classics by posterity, but that it was partly founded upon Cartesius' chimerical doctrine of the vortices. To these literary novel-

ties may be added Bayle's new kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first work of this sort, whence a man may be taught to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of indifferent books such articles as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe, that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honour upon the age of Lewis XIV. though he was banished into Holland, I only conform to the decree of the parliament of Thoulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigour of the laws, expressly says, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of genius as characterise and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this æra comes near the Roman orator, the three pleadings of Pelisson composed for Fouquet must take the place. They, like many of Tully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters, solidly handled with the finest yet scarcely discernible art, and the most affecting charms of oratory.

We have had historians, but none equal to Livy. The conspiracy of Venice may rank with Sallust: that he was the abbe de St. Real's model is evident, perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking seem to have been of a new creation. And

it is this that so peculiarly distinguishes and characterizes the age of Lewis XIV. for the sixteenth and seventeenth ages both have produced learned men and commentators, but true genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works of which we have taken notice had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry: yet such has been the fate of human nature in all nations, that verse has every where appeared as the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with men in general as in particular. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When every body had by heart some of Malherbe's stanzas, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely the genius of prose writers had never been known, without the aid of Peter Corneille.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him, and inasmuch as these bad models were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been shut out of the road of success; and, the more to augment his discouragement, they had a fast friend in Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded well the most miserable scriblers, who are commonly sycophants; and his natural haughtiness of soul, which on other occasions might have been nobly exerted, induced him to endeavour humbling men of real genius, which he viewed not without repining, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It seldom happens that a man of power is a sincere patron of the arts, when he himself is an artist.

Corneille had to struggle with the times, his rivals, and the cardinal. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about the Cid; let it suffice that the academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scudery, had too much complaisance for his eminence, and therefore condemned the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in tragedy, the principal business of which is to pourtray the struggles of the human heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic art was now entirely unknown. Nor was the Cid the only one of his works which the cardinal strove to injure; the abbe Polignac tells us that Polienctes also incurred his displeasure. The Cid after all was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of Guillain de Castro. I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of Cinna, the great Condé being then only twenty years old, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

*Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers ;
 Je le suis, je veux l'être. O siècles ! ô mémoire !
 Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
 Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux,
 De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu'à vous.
 Soyons amis, Cinna ; c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

I'm now the world's great master and my own—
 I am—I will be—memory and time
 Shall this last, greatest victory record.
 I triumph over wrath too justly rous'd,
 And latest age the conquest shall applaud—
 Cinna, let us be friends—'tis I who ask it.

These were the tears of an hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé is a most celebrated epocha in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself which he afterwards published will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man, no more than the blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought the sublimest of poets. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into considerable errors.

Corneille formed himself; but Lewis XIV. Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen on the king's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation encreased every day, that of Corneille diminished, but not much. The reason is plain, Racine in all his performances subsequent to Alexander, is always correct, elegant, and natural; he speaks to the heart. The other too often infringes upon these duties. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and he carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest pitch possible. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length severe judges of what their first masters produced. In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of seeing into the faults of the Cid; and in 1702, when Athaliah, that master-piece of dramatic writing,

was

was performed before the dutchess of Burgundy, the courtiers thought themselves sufficient critics to condemn it. Time has avenged his insult for the author; but that great man died without sharing in any part of the success of this admirable composition.

There was ever a numerous party, which made a point of doing injustice to Racine. Madam de Sevigné, the first epistolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expressing the merest trifles with grace, always said that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as she did of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which she said the public would soon be undeceived. Time is requisite to ripen reputations.

It was the particular fate of these days, that Moliere should be cotemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is false that Moliere at his first appearance found the stage utterly void of good comedies. Corneille had produced his Liar, a piece taken from the Spanish, and fraught with spirit, character, and intrigue, and Quinault's Coquet-mother, a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue had been exhibited, when only two of Moliere's most capital pieces were presented. It made its appearance in 1664; and is the first comedy in which appears the character of a species of men called marquisses. Most of Lewis XIV's highest courtiers endeavoured to imitate the grandeur, splendour, and dignity of their sovereign. Those of an inferior class copied the exalted air of the nobility; and there were not wanting many, who carried their conceit and predominant desire of being held in
a much

a much higher light, than their pretensions to the most ridiculous height of affectation.

This humour prevailed long. It was often attacked by Moliere, and it was to him principally the public owed their being freed from these consequential men of no consequence; as well as from the affectation of prudes; the pedantry of female learning; and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Moliere was, if one may be permitted to use the expression, the law-giver of politeness to the world. I only here speak of the services he did the age; every body knows sufficiently his other merits. This was an æra worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Moliere, the musical compositions of Lully, so very new to the nation (for we only speak here of the arts) and the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Lewis XIV. a dutchess of Orleans, remarkable for the most finished taste, a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that croud of illustrious men, of every sort, that now appeared. Those times will never return, wherein a duke de la Rochefoucault, author of the *Maxims*, shall quit the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, to discourse at the theatre with Corneille. It was by his fine epistles, so instructive to posterity, and above all by his *Art of Poetry*, whence even Corneille might have deduced improvement, and not by his *Satires*, that Boileau raised himself to a rank with so many great men; for what have future generations to do with the Confusion of Paris, or the names of Cossaignes, and Cotin?

La Fontaine, less chaste in his stile, less correct in his language, but inimitable in that sprightliness, and those graces peculiar to himself, which raised him by the simplest narrations, nearly to an equality with those sublime geniuses.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its being apparently the more easy, richly deserves a place amongst these his illustrious cotemporaries. The injustice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to sacrifice to the graces; and it was in vain, that he all his life sought to humble a man who was their most intimate acquaintance. The greatest praise that can be given to a poet is to remember and repeat his verses. Whole scenes of Quinault are in every body's mouth, an advantage at which the Italian opera could never arrive. French music has remained in a state of simplicity, which is no longer the taste of any nation; but those simple and refined strokes of nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please, in every part of Europe, those who are masters of the French tongue and a polished taste. Had we found such poems as an Armida, or an Atys, among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been read! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and protected by Lewis XIV. La Fontaine was not of the number. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he never, indeed, once thought of appearing. The duke of Burgundy found him out; and, in his old days,

days, he received many favours from that prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Puget, one of the fathers of the oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this innocent, this artless man, as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the queen of Navarre. If loose ideas are dangerous, be it remembered that they are not inspired barely by pleasant sallies of wit, or a lively imagination. One may apply to la Fontaine, his admirable fable of the beasts sick of the plague, where the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned every thing, and an innocent animal is devoured for having eaten a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Pouffin, Le Sueur, Le Brun, Le Moine, and Vanloo.

But towards the end of Lewis XIV's reign, two men rose superior to the run of indifferent geniuses, and acquired a great degree of reputation: the one was La Motte-Houdart, rather of a more solid and extensive than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical; but in his poetry he often wanted that fire and elegance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favour of the sublime. He has however given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet
the

the many beautiful pieces he has left us of more than one kind are sufficient to set him above authors of the lowest class. In him is proved that in the art of writing some may rank as seconds. The other was Rousseau, who with less genius, less art, and facility than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were subsequent to La Motte; but they are more beautiful, diversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better finished than those of Marot. He had less success in opera, which requires sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gaiety is necessary. In these two characters he failed; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because they were foreign to his genius.

Had the antiquated stile of Marot, which he used in his serious works been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue; but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken above two hundred years before, did not long keep its footing. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but neither so easy in the expression, nor so clear in the conception; nor are his truths obvious: truth only is amiable.

He lost himself in foreign countries: whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or whether his principal merit consisted in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he might have found at home.

Ex-

Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his misfortunes that he was no longer under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents; but we only consider him here as a writer who has done no small honour to letters.

We have had few great geniuses since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists; and nature seemed as it were to repose herself some time before the death of Lewis the Great.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this age, because untrodden; it is now open to every one, and become a common highway. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of finished pieces have given us a kind of satiety for literary productions.

The age of Lewis XIV. had in every thing therefore the fate of Leo X. of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius, had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow progressive fruitfulness, and of the long sterility that ensued. The true reason is, that among the nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and public

public favour lavished upon these new efforts excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius, must, if he has any genius himself, know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to such arts, and which agree to the nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

The Abbe du Bos, a man of great good sense, who, in 1714 composed a treatise upon poetry and painting, found not in the whole history of France one real subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the league by Henry the Great. He ought to have added, that the ornaments of the epopæa adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and by Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, forceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded, the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a genius springs up who possesses himself of all the embellishments suitable to the times, subject, and nation, and carries into execution * what
has

* Here the author alludes to his own poem, intituled, *La Henriade*. We cannot however subscribe to his opinion or that of the critics, who suppose the epopæa depends so much

has been attempted, those who follow him will find the task performed.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiments can be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting: every thing has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different with regard to true comedy; there is not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. The abbe Du Bos, not having genius in himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of characters that are all new; but he is mistaken, they must arise from nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which constitute the different characters of men may be as happily handled as the most sublime subjects. Innumerable are the clouds that over-

much on the machinery of the heathen Gods, &c. from the use of which we christian authors are excluded: for granting the scene or plan of the work is laid within the pale of the church, the opinions and traditions of our own superstition supply the author with a fund of machinery as ample as any that antiquity can produce: we have our demons, fairies, sorceries, prophecies, apparitions, dreams, and even metamorphoses, with all the romantic adventures of chivalry, which, if properly exhibited, would produce as good an effect as the intervention of the Gods of Homer; which, in spite of all that has been said in their defence, certainly outrage probability, and would be a disgrace to any system of religion. After all, notwithstanding what Aristotle, Bossu, Rapin, and other critics have said of the fable and the machinery of the epic poem, we will venture to affirm that the success of it does not so much depend upon the contrivance of the poet in these particulars, as upon the characters or manners, the imagery and versification of the performance,

shadow

shadow truth : her strongest and most glaring colours are not many ; but of such of these as are of a primitive, a superior nature, an able artist never fails to make a proper use*.

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is exactly in the same state. Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become common place. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality ; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius, after flourishing for a certain age, must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and physical observations, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, can more easily keep their ground ; and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when the supreme governors, as Lewis XIV. are careful only to employ the best artists ; for in painting and sculpture the same subjects may be treated an hundred different ways. The holy family is drawn

* Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe that it is the business of comedy to paint the follies of the age ; and every body knows, that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time, and circumstance.

every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art : but it would be ridiculous again to undertake a Cinna, an Andromache, an Art of Poetry, and a Tartuffe*.

It is also observable, that the last age having instructed the present, it is become so easy to write indifferent books, that we have been plagued with trifling pieces ; and, what is still worse, many of them very serious and very useless. But amid this quantity of pieces of small merit, an evil become necessary in a town like this, large, opulent, and idle, where one part of the people are always striving to amuse the other, there will from time to time be found excellent pieces, either of history or reflection, or of that superficial kind of writing which amuses every body †.

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* We cannot think this is a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance : but a man must take some pains to make himself judge of a tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of furniture, an original ornament, of which the owner is sole possessor ; an eighteen penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands ; a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say, that if the said subject for tragedy was treated by a dozen different authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure ; and if there was but one copy of each, it would perhaps fetch as great a price as an original Madona.

† The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius is become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Mr. Pope was caressed by the great as the first poet of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation ; and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription

The French nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Their language is become the language of Europe; every thing has contributed thereto; the celebrated writers of the age of Lewis the Great; the Calvinist ministers who were banished, and carried eloquence and method into other countries; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good history of England*; a St. Evremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English court; a dutchess of Mazarine, whom they were all zealous to please; and a madam d'Olbreuse, afterwards dutchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the perfections of her native country; but above all, that social spirit which is the natural characteristic of the French, a merit and pleasure of which other nations feel the want and necessity. The French tongue, above all others, expresses every subject of genteel conversation with more ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to the greatest, the most amiable pleasures of life.

scription. Let it not be imagined we want to detract from the memory or fame of this excellent writer, when we declare our opinion, that there are now living several authors equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection.

* This assertion will, we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present.

C H A P. CCV.

S E Q U E L of the A R T S.

TH E arts which do not depend absolutely upon the mind, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, &c. made but small progress in France before that æra which we distinguish by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy ; all that we knew were some songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guittare, and theorbo, most of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lully, amazed the world ; he was the first who in France introduced baes, stops, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the executing of them must have cost him some pains. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music for one who was a proficient therein in the days of Lewis XIII. and the art has, by degrees, arrived at perfection*.

Few great towns are now without a public concert ; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The king's band, of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made afterwards such a progress, that, about the end of Lewis XIV's reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented ; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

* What music may have gained in composition, it seems to have lost in expression : for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear, rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart.

Even in the regency of Mary of Medicis, we had very good architects; she built the palace of Luxembourg in the Tuscan stile, to do honour to her own country and embellish ours. That Desbrosses to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais, superintended also the structure of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. It is a mistake to suppose that cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, came near her in taste. His palace, which now belongs to the crown, is a proof of this assertion. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens, which have been more highly finished within than without, and which contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals than to the embellishment of the city.

Colbert, the Mécenas of arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruviuses, we must also have Augustuses to employ them.

It is also necessary, that the municipal magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such mayors of Paris as the president Turgot, would have prevented the reproach now cast upon that city, on account of the town-house, so badly built, and so ill-situated; of the public squares, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; and of the principal streets, so extremely narrow: and, in fine, for those remains of barbarity, still subsisting in the midst of grandeur and the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with Pouffin, in the days of Lewis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists in that way who preceded him. We have always since his time had excellent painters; tho' not indeed in that abundance which constitutes part of the wealth of Italy. Suppose we should pass over the name of le Sueur, who had no master but himself, or le Brun, who, in design and composition, equalled the Italians; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of the most accurate attention. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and grand apartments of a great monarch, which have been adorned only with pictures of our country's produce, of whose merit we were not perhaps sufficiently acquainted. I have seen in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a more elegant, piece of painting than the cieling at Versailles by le Moine.

Foreigners allow a painter now among us to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the academy of painting its present form, but prevailed also upon Lewis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. An house was there purchased for the superintendant. Scholars are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expence; they design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. This ambition of imitating its treasures is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense

menſe collection of Italian pictures made by the duke of Orleans and the king, and thoſe maſter-pieces of ſculpture, which France has produced, ſets us above the ſearch after foreign aſſiſtance.

We have principally excelled in ſculpture, and in the art of caſting, in metal, colofſal equeſtrian figures.

Should there hereafter be diſcovered in ruins ſuch maſter-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Verſailles; the tomb of cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, not ſufficiently pointed out to the public; the equeſtrian ſtatue of Lewis XV. made at Paris, to embellish Bourdeaux; the Mercury ſent by the preſent king of France as a preſent to his maſteſty of Pruſſia, and other performances equal in merit to thoſe I have named, is it not probable they would ſet this age in a light as advantageous as the moſt poliſhed æra of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the ancients in our medals. Varin was the firſt who raiſed this art above mediocrity, about the end of the reign of Lewis XIII. The number and variety of theſe pieces, which we ſee ranged in hiſtorical order in that part of the gallery of the Louvre aſſigned to the artiſts, is admirable. There are above two millions, and moſt of them very maſterly.

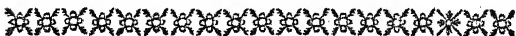
Nor have we been leſs ſucceſſful in the art of engraving precious ſtones. That of multiplying pictures upon copper, and transmitting with eaſe to poſterity all the representations of art and nature, was, before this time, in a very

imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts; we are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than Italy: we have a vast number of finished works of this kind. The king's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends much upon invention and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus traversed those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of a state, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of all others, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean surgery, the progress of which was now so rapid and celebrated, that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe for those cures and operations which require uncommon dexterity of hand. And, besides that good surgeons were to be found scarcely any where but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbours; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me, that it was he who first caused them to be manufactured in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the chyrurgical art, did not make a swifter progress in France than in England, and under Boerhaave in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the lights communicated to us
by

our neighbours, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given a general and faithful portrait of the progress of human genius among the French in this age, which began under cardinal Richlieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it: if by any means it should happen, this will always remain a model for those more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.



C H A P. CCVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS: MEMORABLE DISPUTES.

IT has been always necessary for the sovereign to act with more delicacy and caution towards the church, the most numerous of the three orders composing the state, than any other. To preserve at the same time an union with the see of Rome, and support the liberties of the Gallican church, which are the rights of the antient church, that is, to make the bishops obey as subjects, without infringing their episcopal immunities, to oblige them to submit in many things to the secular jurisdiction, and to leave them judges in others, to make them contribute to the exigencies of the state without injuring their privileges; all this required a compound of dexterity and resolution of which Lewis XIV. was always master. The clergy of France were by degrees reduced to a state of

order and decency, from which the civil wars and the licentiousness of the times had caused them to deviate. The king would no longer permit laymen to possess benefices *in commendam*; nor any to be bishops unless they were priests, as the cardinal Mazarin, who had held the bishopric of Metz, when not even a sub-deacon, and the duke de Verneulle, who enjoyed the profits thereof, though a layman.

The money paid one year with another to the king, by the clergy of France and the conquered towns, amounted to about two millions five hundred thousand livres; and, since the numerical increase of the value of money, they have assisted the state yearly with about four millions, under the name of tenth, extraordinary subsidies, and free-gifts. The name and privilege of free-gift is still preserved as one of the remains of ancient custom, whereby the lords of fiefs were wont to contribute to the necessities of the state, by way of free-gift to the king. In the time of feudal anarchy, bishops and abbots, being lords of fiefs, were only obliged to furnish soldiers. Kings then, like other lords, lived upon the revenue of their own domains: afterwards, when every other order changed, the clergy remained upon their old footing, and maintained the custom of assisting the state by way of free-gift.

To this ancient custom, which a body that assembles often, easily preserves, and which must be necessarily lost by one that never assembles, we may join that immunity and maxim, always claimed by the church, That its revenues are those of the poor. Not that it pretends to owe nothing to the state, of which it holds every thing,

thing, because, when the public is necessitated, it is to be considered in the first class of poor : and Lewis XIV. exacted these supplies in such a manner, that he was sure of never being refused.

It is amazing to all Europe as well as to France, that the clergy, who are supposed to be possessed of one third of the revenue of the kingdom, should contribute so little to relieve its wants. If they are masters of one third of the whole, it is indisputable that they ought to pay one third of the expences, which, upon an average, amounts, demonstrably, to thirty millions yearly, besides the duties upon perishable commodities, which they pay in common with other subjects; but vague and partial judgments are passed upon every thing. The people talk of the clergy possessing one third of the kingdom's revenues at random, just as they say Paris contains a million of inhabitants.

Were we but to take the pains of computing the revenues of the bishoprics, by the leases granted about fifty years ago, it would appear, that the whole annual revenue did not then exceed four millions; and the commendatory abbies amounted to about four millions five hundred thousand pounds. It is true, the leases were estimated at one third of their real value, and, if to this estimation we add the increase of the landed revenue since, the sum total of the consistorial benefices will amount to sixteen millions; and it should not be forgotten, that out of this there goes annually a considerable sum to Rome, which, as it never comes back, is absolutely lost to us. The king is herein extremely liberal to the holy see; by which the

state is plundered, in the space of a century, of more than 400,000 marks of silver, which could not in time fail to impoverish the kingdom, were not the loss abundantly repaired by the returns of commerce. To these benefices which pay annates to Rome must be annexed cures, convents, collegiate livings, and all other ecclesiastical establishments; and, if we compute the value of all together at fifty millions yearly, we shall not fall far short of the truth.

Those who have inquired into this matter with the utmost accuracy and attention cannot carry the sum total of the yearly revenues of the Gallican church, secular and regular, farther than eighty millions. This is no exorbitant sum when appropriated to the maintainance of ninety thousand regulars, and about one hundred and sixty thousand other ecclesiastics, which was the case in 1700: and moreover, out of the above ninety thousand, more than one third live upon alms and masses. Many conventual monks do not stand their community in two hundred livres yearly: there are regular abbots, whose income each annually amounts to two hundred thousand livres. From this enormous and striking inequality, murmurs must necessarily arise. It is really lamentable, that a country curate shall, from his laborious duties, be only intitled to a scanty income of three hundred livres, (and perhaps he shall receive from Christian liberality not more than four or five hundred livres besides,) while a lazy monk, become an abbot, but not on that account the less lazy, and is master of an immense fortune, receiving at the same time from his inferiors the most flattering and pompous titles. These abuses are carried
much

much higher in Flanders, Spain, and above all in the catholic states in Germany, where we often find princes among the regular religious.

Abuses almost every where pass by degrees into laws; and if the wisest men were to assemble to compose laws, where is that kind of state whose constitution would always remain unalterably the same?

The clergy of France always observe a custom that is very burthensome to them when they assist the king with a free-gift of several millions for a certain term of years. They borrow the money, and reimburse their creditors with the capital, after having paid the interest; thus paying it twice over. It would be more to the advantage of the state, as well as of the clergy in general, and more conformable to reason, if this reverend body were to assist the wants of their country by contributions proportioned to the value of their respective benefices: but we are always too much attached to old customs. It is owing to this disposition that the clergy, though they assemble every five years, have never yet had a hall, nor any one thing they could call their own. It is clear, that with less expence to themselves, they might have more effectually served the king, and have erected a palace in Paris, which might have been a new ornament to that capital.

In the minority of Lewis XIV. the maxims of the clergy of France were not entirely cleared from the impurities they had imbibed from the League. It is well known, that in the younger days of Lewis XIII. and in the last assembly of the states, held in 1614, the most numerous

part of the nation, distinguished by the appellation of the third state, and which is as it were the foundation of the state, in vain demanded of the parliament, that it should be registered as a fundamental law, "That no spiritual power can deprive kings of their sacred rights, which they hold only from God; and that it is high treason of the blackest kind to teach the doctrine of deposing and killing kings." This was the substance of the nation's demand, in nearly the same words. It was made when the blood of Henry the Great still smoked. Yet a bishop of France, born in that kingdom, the cardinal du Peron, opposed violently the proposition, under pretence that it was not the business of the third state to dictate laws that any way concern the church. Why did he not then, in conjunction with them, agree to this point? but he was so far from this as to say, "That the power of the pope was plenary without controul, direct as to spiritual matters, indirect as to temporals; and he was also commissioned by the clergy to add, they would excommunicate all such persons as might pretend to maintain that the pope could not depose kings."

The nobility was gained over, and the third state obliged to desist. The parliament renewed their antient decrees, declaring the crown independent, and the king's person sacred. The ecclesiastical chamber, in acknowledging the king's person to be sacred, still persisted to maintain that the crown was dependent. The very same temper had before deposed Lewis the Debonnaire. It now prevailed so far, that the court was obliged to acquiesce, and imprison the printer who had published the decree of

parliament, under the title of, The fundamental law. This proceeding was said to be necessary for the public peace; but it was really meant to punish those who furnished the crown with defensive arms. The case was quite different at Vienna, because France stood in awe of the court of Rome, and the pope was afraid of the house of Austria.

The cause here given up was so much the cause of kings, that James I. king of England, wrote against cardinal Perron; and this piece is the best of his works. It was also the cause of the people, whose safety required that their sovereign should by no means depend upon a foreign power. Reason at length prevailed; and Lewis XIV. with the weight of his authority, found no great trouble in procuring it to be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended to Henry IV. three things, Rome, Consejo, Pielago. Lewis XIV. had attained to such a superiority in the two last, he had no need of the first. He was particularly careful to preserve the custom of appealing to parliament, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, in all cases respecting the regal jurisdiction. The clergy sometimes complained of this proceeding, and sometimes applauded it: for if on the one hand these appeals support the rights of the state against episcopal authority, they yet confirm that authority itself, in maintaining the rights of the episcopal church against the pretensions of the court of Rome: in so much that the bishops have looked upon the parliament both as their adversaries and defenders; and the government has been careful, that, in spite of the quarrels of religion,

ligion, the boundaries, which are easily broken down, should on neither side be infringed. It is with regard to the different bodies and companies of the state the same as with the interest of trading towns; to ballance them is in the hand of the legislator.

The most important and delicate affair of this sort, was that of the Regale. The kings of France have a right to present to all simple benefices of a diocese during the vacancy of the see, and also for that time to appropriate the revenues to their own use. This prerogative is peculiar to the kings of France; but every state has its privileges. The kings of Portugal enjoy one third of the revenues of every bishop in their dominions. The emperor claims the first fruits, and disposes of all livings when they become first vacant after his accession. The rights of the kings of Naples and Sicily are still greater. Those of the court of Rome are founded rather upon custom than primitive title. The kings of the Merovingian race gave away livings and bishoprics of their own sole authority. It appears very just they should preserve the poor privilege of disposing of the revenue, and nominating to simple benefices during the short space that happens between the death of one bishop and the registering his successor's oath of fidelity.

The bishops of several towns, reunited to the crown under the third race, refused to acknowledge this right, which their former lords had been too weak to maintain. The popes sided with the bishops, and their claims always remained enveloped in obscurity. The parliament under Henry IV. in 1608 declared, that the

the Regale should take place throughout the whole kingdom. The clergy murmured; and that prince, who temporised with the bishops and court of Rome, brought the affair before his council, but took care it should not be decided.

The cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin caused several orders of council to be issued, whereby those bishops who held themselves exempt from that authority were required to produce their titles. The affair remained undecided even in the year 1673; and the king at that time did not dare to dispose of a single benefice in almost any diocese beyond the Loire during the vacancy of a see. At length, in 1673, the chancellor Michael le Tellier published an edict, whereby all the bishoprics in the kingdom were declared subject to the Regale. Two bishops, who were unhappily the most virtuous men in the kingdom, obstinately refused to submit. These were Pavillon bishop of Alet, and Caulet bishop of Pamiers. They defended their cause at first with very plausible reasons, and were as strongly opposed. When men of understanding dispute long, it is very likely the question is far from being clear. This was indeed very obscure: but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were interested in preventing the king from doing in two dioceses what he did in every other. Nevertheless, the two bishops remained inflexible. Neither one nor the other of them had caused his oath of fidelity to be registered; and the king thought he had a right to dispose of the livings vacated in their respective sees.

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The two prelates excommunicated all who were thus provided for. Both had been suspected of Jansenism. Innocent X. was their enemy; but when they disputed against the king's prerogative, he became their friend. This pope, Odescalchi, as virtuous and obstinate as themselves, warmly espoused their cause.

The king at first contented himself to exile the principal officers of these bishops. He shewed more moderation than two men who piqued themselves for their sanctity. Out of respect to his old age, the bishop of Alet was left to die in peace. The bishop of Pamiers still resisted, nor could any remonstrances move him. He repeated his excommunications; and persisted in not registering his oath of fidelity, persuaded that by such an oath the church was acknowledged as subservient to monarchy. His temporalities were seized upon by the king. The pope and the Jansenists indemnified him. He gained by the privation of his annuity, and died in 1680, satisfied, that in opposing the king, he had maintained the cause of heaven. His death did not extinguish the quarrel: the canons named by the king came to take possession; the monks, who pretended to be canons and grand vicars, obliged them to quit the church, and excommunicated them. The metropolitan, Montpesat, archbishop of Toulouse, to whom it belonged to take cognizance of this matter, gave sentence, but to no purpose, against these pretended grand vicars. They appealed to Rome, according to the custom of referring to that court such ecclesiastical causes as were determined by the archbishops of France, a custom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church:

church: but there are contradictions in every form of human government. The parliament issued decrees. A monk named Cerle, who was one of these grand vicars, broke thro' the sentence of the archbishop, as well as the decrees of the parliament. This last tribunal condemned him to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, and to lose his head. He was executed in effigy. From his asylum he insulted both the archbishop and the king; and was supported by the pope. Nay, this sovereign pontiff went farther. Persuaded, like Pamiers, that the right of Regale was an abuse upon the church, and that the king had nothing to do with the livings of that vacant bishopric, he repealed the ordonnances of the archbishop of Toulouse, and excommunicated the grand vicars named by that prelate, with all the ecclesiastics that held under the Regale, and their abettors.

The king convened an assembly of the clergy, consisting of thirty-five bishops, and a like number of deputies of the second order. The Jansenists for the first time took part with the pope; and this pope, an enemy to the king, favoured, without loving them; he piqued himself for opposing this monarch upon every occasion: and, in 1689, joined with the allies against James II. because he was protected by Lewis XIV. so that it was now a common saying, That James should become an huguenot, and the pope a catholic, to terminate the troubles of Europe and of the church.

In the mean time the clergy in 1681, unanimously declared for the king. Another trifling quarrel, become now important, engaged the

the public attention. The election to a priory in the suburbs of Paris inflamed the difference between the pope and the king. The Roman pontiff repealed the ordonnance of the archbishop of Paris, and annulled his nomination to that priory. The parliament adjudged this proceeding of the court of Rome to be an abuse. The pope, by a bull, ordered the inquisition to burn the parliament's decree. These disputes have been for a long time the common and inevitable consequences of that ancient mixture of the natural liberty which every country claims of governing within itself, and of its subserviency to a foreign power.

The assembly of the clergy took a course, which shews that men of wisdom can yield with dignity to their sovereign, without any other power interposing. They consented that the right of Regale should extend over the whole kingdom; but it was done in such a manner as to seem rather a concession on the part of the clergy, relinquishing their pretensions out of regard to their protector, than a formal acknowledgment of the absolute right of the crown.

The assembly justified themselves to the pope by a letter, wherein we find this one passage, which alone ought to serve as a constant rule in all disputes, viz. "It is better to cede some thing of one's rights, than to disturb the public tranquillity." The king, the Gallican church, and the parliament, were contented. The Jansenists writ some libels: the pope continued inflexible. He reversed by brief all the resolutions of the assembly, and commanded the bishops

shops to retract their concessions. Here was some foundation for dividing for ever the church of France from that of Rome. There had been some talk of making a patriarch in the times of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin.

It was the wish of every magistrate, that the tribute of annates should be no longer paid to Rome; that the holy see should nominate to the benefices of Bretagne only for six months in the year; and that the bishops of France should no longer be styled bishops by permission of the holy see. Had it been the king's inclination, he needed only to have said the word; he was master of the assembly of the clergy, and the nation was for him. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of a virtuous pope, who knew not how to temporise. But there are certain ancient boundaries which cannot be removed without the most violent shocks. It required stronger ties of interest, more inflamed passions, and greater perturbations in the minds of men, to break at once with the court of Rome; and this rupture would have been the more difficult while the ministry persisted in extirpating Calvinism. It was even looked upon as a bold step to publish the four famous decisions of the same assembly in 1682, of which here follows the substance.

1. God gave no power, either directly or indirectly, in temporal matters, either to Peter or his successors.

2. The Gallican church approved of the council of Constance, which declares general councils superior to the pope in spirituals.

3. The

3. The rules, customs, and established practices of the kingdom, and the Gallican church, ought to remain unchangeable.

4. The pope's decisions in matters of faith are not binding, until approved of by the church.

All the tribunals and faculties of theology registered these four propositions in their fullest sense, and forbid by edict any one to maintain the contrary. This firmness was regarded at Rome as an effort of rebellion; and by the protestants of Europe as a weak essay of a church naturally free, which had broken only four links of her chains. These four maxims were at first espoused with enthusiasm by the whole nation; but they afterwards cooled.

About the end of Lewis the Great's reign, they began to be considered as problematical; and cardinal Fleury caused them to be in part disavowed by an assembly of the clergy, without the least consequential murmur, because the minds of men were not then so much heated, and because during the administration of cardinal Fleury, nothing was done very remarkable.

Pope Innocent was nevertheless more than ever exasperated: he refused bulls to all the bishops and commendatory abbots that had been nominated by the king; so that when he died, which was in 1689, there was twenty-nine sees in France without bishops. These prelates indeed were not without their revenues; but they dared not either to be consecrated, or enjoy any of the episcopal functions. The notion of creating a patriarch was revived. The quarrel about the rights of ambassadors at Rome, which completed the widening of these breaches,

breaches, gave one reason to think that the time was come for establishing in France a catholic apostolic church that was not Roman. The attorney-general, Harlai, and the advocate-general, Talon, made themselves sufficiently understood, by appealing, in 1687, from the bull against the franchises, as an abuse, and exclaiming against the obstinacy of the pope, who left so many churches without pastors. This was a step to which the king never could agree, though it might have been easily done, notwithstanding it appeared so very difficult.

The cause of Innocent XI. became now the cause of the holy see. The four propositions of the clergy of France attacked the phantom of infallibility, (which though not believed in at Rome, yet was there supported) and the real power annexed to that phantom. Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed the steps of the obdurate Odescalchi, not indeed with such violence. They confirmed the judgment pronounced against the assembly of the clergy: they refused bulls to the bishops; and in fine did too much, because Lewis XIV. had not done enough. The bishops, weary of enjoying no more than a regal nomination, without the exercise of their episcopal functions, intreated the court of France to permit them to appease that of Rome.

The king, whose resolution was worn out, allowed their request. Each of them wrote separately to the court of Rome, expressing themselves grievously afflicted with the proceedings of the assembly; and each of them in his letter declared he did not look upon that matter as decided, which they had before absolutely

olutely decided ; nor upon that to be established which they had really established. Pignatelli, (Innocent XII.) more mild than Odescalchi, was satisfied with this proceeding. The four propositions were yet from time to time not less taught in France. The cause subsided when disputes were ceased ; yet it only lay dormant without being determined, as is always the case in a state, which has not in such matters invariable and acknowledged principles. Thus we sometimes oppose, sometimes give way to Rome, according to the characters of those who govern, or the particular interests of those who are at the head of the administration.

Lewis XIV. had no other kind of ecclesiastical quarrel with the court of Rome ; nor had he any opposition from the clergy in temporal matters.

Under him the clergy became respectable by a decency of behaviour unknown to the barbarous times of the two first races of our kings, to the still more barbarous times of feudal government, absolutely unknown during the civil wars, and above all during the Fronde. There are indeed some few exceptions, which will be always the case according to the prevailing virtues or vices. It was now only that the eyes of the people began to be opened upon the superstitions which always mingle with their religion. It was no longer accounted criminal to assert that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen never were in Provence, whatever might be the opinion of the parliament of Aix, or of the Carmelites. The Benedictines could no longer persuade the people that Dionysius the Areopagite

gite governed the church of Paris. Pretended saints, false miracles, and supposed relics began to be decried. That sound reasoning which had thrown such lights upon philosophy, made its way every where but slowly, and with difficulty.

Gaston Lewis de Noailles, brother to the cardinal and bishop of Chalons, in 1702 had sufficient sensible piety to cause to be thrown away a relic which had been many ages carefully preserved in the church of Notre-Dame, worshipped under the name of Jesus Christ's navel. All Chalons murmured against the bishop. Presidents, counsellors, king's officers, treasurers of France, merchants, citizens, canons, curates, unanimously and formally protested against this bold action of the bishop; affirming that the garment of Christ, preserved at Argenteuil, the handkerchief at Turin and Laon, the nail of the cross at St. Dennis, and the prepuce at Rome, were identically his. But the bishop's wise resolution triumphed at length over the credulity of the people.

Some other superstitions, because united with respectable customs, still subsisted. The protestants have therefore exulted; but they are obliged to acknowledge, that there is no catholic church in which abuse is less common, or more despised than in France.

The true philosophical spirit, which had not taken root till about the middle of this century, could not extinguish the ancient and modern disputes in theology, of which it did not take cognizance. We shall now proceed to speak of those dissensions which are a disgrace to human reason.

C H A P. CCVII.

OF CALVINISM:

IT is undoubtedly a melancholy consideration that the church has been always torn by intestine divisions, and that so much blood should have been for so many ages shed by those who proclaimed the God of peace. This rage was unknown to paganism. It covered the earth with darkness, but scarcely spilt any other blood than that of animals; and if human victims were sometimes offered up among the Jews and Pagans, such offerings, horrible as they are, never occasioned civil wars. The religion of the Pagans was composed of morality and festivals. Morality, which is common to all men, and all seasons; and festivals, which are only acts of rejoicing, could never disturb mankind.

The spirit of dogmatism inspired men with the rage of civil war. I have often enquired how and by what means that dogmatic spirit, which divided the schools of Pagan antiquity, without occasioning any disturbance, should among us produce such horrible disorders. It cannot be caused solely by fanaticism; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fanatic of mankind, never hurt any but themselves. Cannot then the origin of this new plague, which has ravaged the earth, be found in that republican spirit which animated the primitive churches? Those secret assemblies, which from caves and grottoes defied the authority of the Roman emperors, by degrees formed a state within

state within a state. It was a republic concealed in the bosom of the empire. Constantine drew it from under ground, and set it by the side of the throne.

The authority annexed to great sees was soon found to run counter to the spirit of popularity, which had till then inspired all the christian assemblies. It often happened that when a metropolitan uttered one opinion, a suffragan bishop, a priest, or a deacon, maintained the direct contrary. All authority secretly hurts mankind, inasmuch as that authority is always upon the encrease. When people can find a pretext that may be deemed sacred, they soon make a duty of opposition.* Thus one party becomes persecutors, the other rebels, while on both sides they pretend to maintain the cause of God. We have seen by the disputes supported by Arius against a bishop, how the rage

* All the mischiefs of religious zeal are, we apprehend, deducible from the single doctrine of faith, implying, that our eternal happiness or misery depends upon our believing or disbelieving certain tenets, concerning which the faculty of reason cannot be exercised. This it was which opened a way to every species of fanaticism and spiritual rancour: for those who adopted this tenet considered every person who differed from them in opinion, as reprobated and accursed; and mutual hatred, animosity, and persecution ensued. As the concerns of the soul were much more interesting than any thing that related to temporal establishments; the spiritual guides acquired such influence over the minds of the Neophytes, as often superseded the authority of the civil magistrates; a circumstance which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of the government under which they lived; and this jealousy was attended with severity, which served only to inflame the spirit of enthusiasm, and engender rebellion and despair.

of governing souls has disturbed the peace of the earth. To deliver an opinion as agreeable to the will of heaven, to command it to be believed under pain of death, temporal and eternal, was in some men deemed the utmost period of spiritual despotism; and to resist these two menaces was in others thought the last effort of independence.

In the general history we have run through, we have seen a continual struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, ever since the time of Theodosius; and since that of Charlemagne, the grand chiefs continually struggling against their sovereigns; bishops often rising against kings, and popes taking part sometimes with bishops, sometimes with kings. In the first ages they disputed less in the Latin church. The continual invasions of barbarians scarcely gave them time to think; and few of their dogmatical opinions were sufficiently clear to secure them universal credit. The worship of images was almost every where rejected in the West, in the age of Charlemagne. A bishop of Turin, named Claudius, inveighed against them with great acrimony, and maintained several opinions which at this time give foundation to the protestant credit. These opinions spread themselves in the vallies of Piedmont, Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc. They flourished in the twelfth century; soon afterwards produced the wars of the Albigenes; and having passed thence to the university of Prague, excited the wars of the Hussites.

The interval between the troubles which arose from the ashes of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, and the disturbances renewed by

by Luther, was not more than one hundred years. The ancient opinions embraced by the Vaudois, the Albigenes, and the Hussites, revived and differently explained by Luther and Zwinglius, were eagerly adopted in Germany, as they furnished pretence for seizing on the many lands possessed by the bishops and abbots, and for resisting the power of the emperor: they triumphed in Sweden and Denmark, countries wherein people were free under their kings.

The English, who inherit from nature a spirit of independence, adopted, moulded them, and thence composed a religion for themselves. These opinions made their way in Poland; and their progress was considerable only in places where the people were not slaves. They found little difficulty in being received among the Swiss, because the government was republican. For the same reason they were near being established at Venice; and might have perhaps taken actual root there, had not Rome been so near; and if the government had not dreaded a democracy, at which the people in every republic naturally aspire, and which was the chief view of most of the reformers. The Hollanders shook off the yoke of Spain * before they embraced this religion. Geneva became a popular state by receiving Calvinism. The house of Austria took all possible pains to prevent these religions from getting footing in their dominions. They scarcely made any progress

* The Dutch did not first throw off the Spanish yoke, and then embrace the protestant religion; they were first converted to this doctrine, and finding themselves oppressed in the point of liberty of conscience, then shook off the yoke of Spain.

in Spain. They were extirpated with fire and sword in the dukedom of Savoy, which was their cradle. In 1655 the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont underwent the same cruel trials which those of Merindol and Cabriere had undergone under Francis I. in France.

This sect having appeared dangerous to the duke of Savoy, he absolutely exterminated it; so that there remained only some few, scarcely known, in the most rocky and desert places. It does not appear that the Lutherans and Calvinists caused any great troubles in France, under the dominion of Francis I. and Henry II. But when the government was weak and divided, the quarrels of religion became violent. Conde and Coligni became Calvinists, because the Guises were Catholics, overwhelmed the state with confusion. The levity and impetuosity of the nation, their passion for novelty and enthusiasm, changed us for upwards of forty years from a most polished to a most barbarous people. Henry IV. born of this sect, which he really loved, without being bigotted to any, could not, though seconded by his victories and virtues, obtain the crown without abandoning Calvinism. After he became a catholic, he had not the ingratitude to consent to the destruction of a people, to whom, though they were at variance with monarchical government, he owed his crown; and even had he been inclined to it, he could not now have dispersed this faction; he therefore cherished, protected, and restrained it.

The Huguenots of France did not at this time amount to a twelfth part of the nation. But among them were many powerful lords; whole

whole cities were protestants. They had made war upon their sovereigns, who had been obliged to put some strong places into their hands for security. Henry III. had given up to them in Dauphine alone, fourteen; Montauban and Nismes in Languedoc; Saumur, and above all Rochelle, which made a republic of itself, and had become powerful by the commerce and protection of the English. At length Henry IV. seemed to act according to his inclination as well as his duty, and even politically, by granting them in 1598, the celebrated edict of Nantz. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of privileges which the protestants had obtained sword in hand from preceding kings, and which Henry the Great confirmed to them voluntarily from the throne. By this edict of Nantz, which the name of Henry the Great renders more celebrated than any other, every lord of a fief vested with power of capital jurisdiction, was permitted the full exercise, within his own castle, of the pretended reformed religion. Every lord, not possessed of such power, was allowed thirty persons to be present at divine service. The full exercise of this religion was tolerated in every place under the immediate jurisdiction of a parliament.

The Calvinists were free to print books in every place where their religion was permitted, without applying to their superiors. They were declared capable of holding all the great offices and dignities of state; and every thing on their side appeared favourable, the king having created the lords of Trimouille and Roni dukes and peers of France.

A new chamber was purposely formed in the parliament of Paris, consisting of a president and sixteen counsellors. This court, which was called the Chamber of the Édict, took cognizance of, and determined all causes that concerned the reformed, not only in the immense district of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Brittany. Indeed there never was but one Calvinist admitted by right among the counsellors of this jurisdiction; but as the principal design of it was to prevent those vexatious actions of which the party complained; and as men always value themselves upon discharging a trust by which they are distinguished, this chamber, though composed of catholics, always rendered the most impartial justice to the Huguenots, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a kind of lesser parliament at Caen, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise courts of justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, composed of one half Roman Catholics and the other Calvinists. Their churches assembled in synods in the same manner as the Gallican church. These privileges, together with many others, incorporated the Calvinists with the rest of the nation. It was in effect suffering enemies to league together; but the authority, the goodness, and the address of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After the tragical and much lamented death of Henry IV. during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the reformed not to abuse their privileges, or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt to restrain them.

them. The Huguenots had already established circles in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The deputies of these circles were frequently men of a seditious turn, and there were in the party itself several noblemen of unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke de Rohan, the chief who was in the greatest credit among the Huguenots, soon hurried the restless spirit of the preachers and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general assembly of the party in 1616 had the boldness to present a remonstrance to the court, in which, among other insolent articles, they demanded a change in the king's council. In the same year 1616, they took up arms in several places, and through the audacious behaviour of the party, joined to the divisions in the court, the public hatred against the favourites, and the unsettled state of the nation, every thing was for some time in the utmost disorder and confusion. Nothing prevailed but seditions, intrigues, menaces, insurrections, treaties made in haste, and broken as speedily, which made the famous cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time nuncio in France, say, that he had been witness of nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the calvinist churches of France offered Lesdigueres, that soldier of fortune, who was afterwards made constable, the command of their armies, with a salary of an hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lesdigueres, who was more clear-sighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them well, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them than be at their head, and instead of ac-

ing their offers, turned catholic. The party afterwards applied to the marechal duke of Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. To conclude, they conferred that unhappy employment on the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubise had the insolence to make war upon the king of France.

The same year the constable de Luines carried Lewis XIII. from province to province. He reduced to obedience upwards of fifty cities, almost without resistance, but failed before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain; that city continued to defend itself both by its own strength and the succours it received from England: and the duke de Rohan, a traitor to his country, concluded a peace with his sovereign, like one crowned head treating with another.

After this peace, and the death of the constable de Luines, there was a necessity of renewing the war, and Rochelle was again besieged; that city, which was always in league against its sovereign with the English, and the Calvinists of the kingdom. A woman, (the mother of the duke of Rohan,) defended this city a whole year against the king's army, against the active diligence of cardinal Richelieu, and the intrepid valour of Lewis XIII. who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the extremities of famine, and would not have been reduced at last, had it not been for the mole of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richelieu ordered to be made across the mouth of the harbour, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raised.

raised before the city of Tyre. This stupendous work at once subdued the sea and the Rochellers. Guiton, the mayor of Rochelle, who had formed the design to bury himself under the ruins of the place, had the boldness, after having surrendered at discretion, to appear before cardinal Richelieu, attended by his guards, the mayors of the principal Huguenot cities being allowed this mark of honour. Guiton's guards however were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privileges. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war against his prince; and finding himself abandoned by the English, though protestants, he entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, though catholics. But the firm behaviour of cardinal Richelieu forced the Huguenots at last, after being defeated on all sides, to submit.

All the edicts granted them before this time, having been so many treaties made with their kings, Richelieu resolved that the one he granted them on this occasion should be called The Edict of Grace. The king in it speaks in the style of a prince who pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhé, Oleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in other respects the edict of Nantz was suffered to remain; which, by the Calvinists, was always looked upon as their fundamental law.

It seemed somewhat strange that cardinal de Richelieu, who was so absolute and daring, did not totally abolish this famous edict; but at that time he had something else in view, more difficult perhaps in the execution, but not less conformable to the extent of his ambition and

the loftiness of his designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he thought himself capable of effecting by the greatness of his understanding, his power, and his politics. His project was to gain the ministers, to bring them first to acknowledge that the Roman-catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them afterwards by degrees, to give up some points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome as if he had yielded nothing at all. He made sure of dazzling one party of the reformed, of seducing the other by presents and pensions, and to appear at length to have united them to the church; leaving to time to accomplish the rest, and indulging himself in the glorious prospect of having effected, or prepared the way for this great work, and passing for the author of it. The famous father Joseph on one side, and two ministers he had gained on the other, set about this negotiation. But it appeared that the cardinal had made too sure; and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of divines, than to raise moles in the ocean.

Richelieu, thus disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but cares of another nature hindered him from carrying his design into execution. He found himself obliged to combat, at the same time, all the grandees of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole house of Austria, and frequently Lewis XIII. himself. At length, amidst all these storms, he ended his days by a premature death, before he was able to complete his vast designs, leaving behind him

him a name more dazzling than dear and venerable.

In the mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the publication of the Edict of Grace, the civil wars ceased, and there remained only a trifling controversy. Large volumes were published on both sides, which nobody reads at present. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Huguenots. The Huguenot preachers endeavoured to bring over some catholics to their opinion. The king's council was busied in issuing arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some ground formerly belonging to the church; about schools, the jurisdiction of castles, interments, bells, and the like; in which the reformed seldom gained their cause. These trifling disputes were all now left of the former devastations and ravages. The Huguenots were without a leader, since they had lost the duke of Rohan, and that Sedan had been taken from the house of Bouillon. They even made a merit of remaining quiet during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the bishops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their service against cardinal Mazarine.

There were scarce any disputes about religion during the life of this minister. He made no scruple to bestow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Huguenot of foreign extraction, named Hervard. The reformed were all of them admitted into the offices of the revenue without exception.

Colbert, who revived the industry of the nation, and whom France may look upon as the founder of her commerce, employed a great number of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful engagements, which fully occupied them, softened by degrees the epidemic fury of controversy; and the glory which, for fifty years together, surrounded the throne of Lewis XIV. added to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as well as in all orders of the state, the least idea of resistance. The magnificent feasts of a gay and gallant court threw an air of ridicule on the pedantry and reserve of the Huguenots. In proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to inspire disgust. These psalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II. seemed only calculated for the populace in the reign of Lewis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped still more to put men out of conceit with religious disputes.

But while reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the peace of the state: for the Jansenists beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, they acquired a considerable share in the esteem of those who are fond of such subtilties. They wrote at the same time against the Jesuits and Huguenots; these latter answered the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The Lutherans in the province of Alsace attacked all the three. A paper-war among so many different sects, at a time

time when the state was engaged in great designs, and the government was powerful, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, only an amusement for the idle part of the nation, which, sooner or latter, always sinks into indifference.

Lewis XIV. was exasperated against the sectaries in religion, by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the court of Rome, and especially by the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to root out the reformed as rebels, because Colbert protected them as useful subjects. Lewis, wholly a stranger to the fundamental points of their doctrine, looked upon them, not without reason, as old revolvers not entirely quelled. He applied himself at first to undermine by degrees, and on all sides, the fabric of their religion: churches were taken from them on the most slender pretexts, and forbid to marry the daughters of catholics; but in this they seemed to want policy, or at least to be ignorant of the power of a sex with which the court was otherwise so well acquainted. The intendants and the bishops endeavoured, by the most plausible contrivances, to get Huguenot children away from their parents. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any person of this religion into places in the revenue. They were excluded as much as possible from the corporations of arts and trades. The king, however, though he kept them under the yoke, did not always make them feel the whole weight of it. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities, and the oppressions they laboured

boured under were at least covered with a shew of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used upon this occasion, which was money; but they did not make a sufficient use of the expedient. Pelisson had the charge of this secret service; the same Pelisson who was so long a Calvinist, and who is so well known by his writings, his copious eloquence, and his attachment to the superintendant Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim, he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened a way to fortune and preferment; he took the ecclesiastical habit, and obtained several benefices, and the place of master of requests. About the year 1677, the king entrusted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain des Prez, and Cluni, together with the revenues arising from the third part of all savings; the whole to be distributed amongst those who would become converts. Cardinal le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, had already tried this method. Pelisson, charged with this negociation, sent money into the provinces, recommending at the same time to those who had the care of distributing the sums, to make as many converts as possible with a little expence. Small sums distributed to a few indigent wretches swelled the list, which Pelisson presented every three months to the king, persuading him at the same time, that every thing upon earth would at length give way to his generosity and power.

The council, encouraged by these small successes, which time would have rendered more con-

considerable, adventured in 1681 to issue a declaration, permitting children to renounce their religion at the age of seven years: under the shadow of this decree, great numbers of children were seized in the provinces, in order to make them abjure; and troops were quartered upon the houses of their parents.

This precipitate step of the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois was the occasion, that, in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom.

Strangers with eagerness took advantage of this circumstance; the kings of England and Denmark, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, invited the Calvinists to take refuge in their territories, promising them ample subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for such as should fly thither for an asylum.

The council soon perceived the dangerous consequences of a too speedy use of authority, and thought to find a remedy in that very authority. They were sensible how necessary artificers were in a country where commerce flourished, and seamen at a time when they were establishing a naval force. The punishment of the gallies was therefore denounced against all of these professions who should attempt to quit the kingdom.

It being observed that a great number of Calvinist families sold their estates, a proclamation immediately appeared, confiscating all those estates, in case the seller should leave the kingdom within a year. The persecution against the ministers was now resumed with double severity.

verity. Their churches were shut up upon the most frivolous pretences, and all the rents left by will to their consistories, were applied to the hospitals of the kingdom.

The masters of Calvinist schools were forbid to receive boarders. The ministers were taxed, and protestant mayors were deprived of their right of noblesse. The officers of the king's household, and the king's secretaries, who were protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were any longer admitted, either among the notaries, attorneys, or advocates.

The clergy were strictly enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to make profelytes, while perpetual banishment was denounced against those protestant ministers who should make any. All these ordonnances were publicly solicited by the clergy of France, who, like children of a household, were resolved not to share their inheritance with aliens introduced by force.

Pelisson went on buying converts; but Mad. Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, animated with that zeal for religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to the women, sent as much money to prevent conversions as Pelisson had done to procure them.

At length the Huguenots took courage, and rose in some places. They assembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. This was a small spark of the fire of our ancient civil wars. Two or three hundred miserable wretches, without a leader,
without

without towns, and even without any regular plan of design, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the minister, Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantz, to be broke upon the wheel. He is ranked among the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has been long held in veneration by the protestants.

The intendant of Languedoc caused the minister Chomel to be broke upon the wheel. 1683
Three more were condemned to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they saved themselves by flight, and were only executed in effigy.

All these rigorous proceedings inspired terror, and at the same time encreased the spirit of obstinacy. It is but too well known, that people become more attached to a religion in proportion as they suffer for its sake.

And now it was, that those about the king insinuated to him, that, after having sent missionaries into all the provinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences seemed very ill timed, and were the consequences of the spirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Lewis XIV. These counsellors never considered that the Huguenots were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was now extinguished; that this malady, of long continuance, was now upon the decline; that every thing has its limited time of duration with mankind; that, if the fathers had been rebels under

Lewis

Lewis XIII. their children were become good subjects under Lewis XIV. It was seen in England, Holland, and Germany, that many sects, who had torn each other in pieces during the last age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute prince might be equally well served by catholics and by protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace were unanswerable proofs of this maxim. In the end, it appeared, that queen Christina was not mistaken in what she says, in one of her letters on the subject of these oppressions and desertions : " I look upon France as a patient, whose physicians order his legs and arms to be cut off, to cure him of a disorder which patience and mild treatment would have entirely got the better of."

Lewis XIV. who, in seizing upon Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner by Calvinism, which time would have insensibly abolished, as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined, that in putting this force upon a great number of his subjects, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would by flight avoid a violence which they looked upon as a horrible persecution? and, in fact, why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both protestants and catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. It was about this very time too, that the king had openly
broke

broke with pope Innocent XI. the declared enemy of France. But Lewis reconciling the interests of his religion with those of his grandeur, was resolved to humble the pope with one hand, and crush the Calvinists with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to a degree of idolatry. The bishops, several of the intendants, and the whole council, made him believe that his troops would, by their bare appearance, finish what his liberalities and missions had already begun.

He thought that in this he did no more than make use of his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed, exerted it with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV. always strongly armed, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution was called the Dragonade.

All possible care was taken to guard the frontiers, in order to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large enclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a subdelegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families were assembled, especially those who were deemed most tractable. They

renounced their religion in the name of the rest, and those who continued obstinate were given up to the soldiery, who had every licence but that of killing; nevertheless, many persons were so cruelly treated, that they died soon after. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still cry out against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the church ever sustained in the first ages of Christianity.

It seemed a strange contrast, that such cruel and merciless orders should proceed from the bosom of a voluptuous court, distinguished for softness of manners, the graces, and all the charms of social life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appeared too plainly in this affair; and we see in it the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant, letters written with his own hand in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is the king's pleasure, that such as refuse to conform to his religion should be punished with the utmost rigour, and particularly those who affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply."

Paris was not exposed to these vexations; the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the reformed were thus every where demolished, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantz was at last revoked, in the month of October 1685: this completed the ruin of that fabric which was already undermined on all sides.

The Chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council followed one upon another, like thunderbolts, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which appeared to be the most fatal was the order for seizing the children of the pretended reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest catholic relations ; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never carried into execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which 1685
revoked that of Nantz, they seem to have paved the way to an event directly contrary to the end proposed. The intent was to procure a re-union of the Calvinists to the national church throughout the kingdom. Gourville, a man of consummate judgment, whom Louvois consulted in this affair, advised that minister, as is well known, to imprison all the preachers, and release such only, as being gained by private pensions, would abjure in public, and might by this means contribute more to the desired union than the missionaries and soldiers. Instead of following this politic advice, an edict was issued, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. It was surely the utmost blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming extravagantly upon power, and betraying a very slender knowledge of mankind, to suppose that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations heated with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern
parts

parts of France, would not run all risks to go and publish their constancy, and the glory of their exile, in foreign countries, when so many nations, envious of Lewis XIV. were ready to receive them with open arms.

The old chancellor le Tellier, when he signed the edict, cried out in an ecstasy of joy: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation." He did not imagine that he was then setting his hand to an act, which would be productive of the greatest mischief to his country*.

His son, Louvois, was no less deceived, when he thought that a bare order of his would be sufficient to shut the frontier-passes and seaports, against those who thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, is always too strong for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards was sufficient to favour the flight of a number of refugees. No less than fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom in the space of three years; and were afterwarde followed by others, who carried their arts, manufactories, and riches,

* In reading the funeral-oration of this chancellor, pronounced by Bossuet, we see him represented as a good and a great man. If we look into the Annals of the abbé de St. Pierre, we shall find him a mean-spirited and dangerous court-sycophant, one particularly skilful in the art of calumniating, of whom the count de Grammont said one day, on seeing him come out from a private conference with the king: "Methinks I see a fox that has just been devouring a brood of chickens, and is licking his lips, stained with their blood."

into other countries with them. Almost all the north of Germany, a country till then rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes transplanted thither, who peopled whole cities. Stuffs, gold and silver lace, hats, stockings, formerly bought of France, were now manufactured in those countries by them. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk, others carried thither the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany*.

Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, an immense quantity of specie, and what is still more, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange, and the duke of Savoy, had entire regiments of refugees. Some went even as far as the Cape of Good Hope to settle. The nephew of the famous du Quesne, lieutenant-general of the marine, founded a small colony at that extremity of the globe; but it did not prosper, for most part of those who went on board perished by the way.

In vain the prisons and galleys were filled with those who were stopt in their flight; what could be done with such a multitude of wretches whom sufferings made more bold? how could

* The count d'Avaux, in his letters, says he was informed, that at London there were sixty thousand guineas coined with the gold which the refugees had sent over thither; but this account is too much exaggerated.

persons bred to the law, and infirm old men, be left to perish in the galleys? Some hundreds were sent over to America: at length the council began to think, that if they no longer prohibited leaving the kingdom, the minds of the people being no longer instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying, desertions would become less frequent. But here they were again mistaken, and after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

After all the churches of the reformed were demolished and their pastors banished, nothing more remained but to retain in the Roman communion, such as through fear or persuasion had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom*. These were obliged to go to mass, and to communicate; some who refused the host after having once received it, were burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacrament at their death were drawn upon a hurdle, and left unburied.

Persecution always makes profelytes, especially when it happens to encounter a heat of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled every where to sing their psalms, though the penalty of death was denounced against all such as should hold these assemblies. Ministers returning into

* It has been several times asserted in print, that there still remained three millions of the reformed in France. This is an insufferable exaggeration; Mr. Baville reckoned but one hundred thousand in Languedoc, and his account is exact. There are not above fifteen thousand in Paris, and there are several cities, and even whole provinces, in which there is not one.

the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of fifty-five thousand livres was promised to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, and were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, however, still subsisted, though in appearance crushed. It vainly hoped in the war of 1689, that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law, who was a Roman catholic, would support Calvinism in France; but in the war of 1701, fanaticism and rebellion again broke out in Languedoc.

It was now some considerable time since, in the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certain persons had appeared, pretending to the gifts of inspiration and prophecy. An old Huguenot named des Serres had there kept a school of prophets. He directed children to those words of scripture: "When two or three are met together in my name, my spirit shall be in the midst of them; and if you had faith like a grain of mustard seed, you would be able to remove mountains." He afterwards received the spirit, was beside himself, fell into convulsions, his voice changed, he became immovable, with his hair standing on end, according to the ancient usage of all nations, and the rules of prophetic madness, handed down from generation to generation. The children under his care thus received the gift of prophecy; and if they were not able to remove mountains, it was because they had faith enough to receive the spirit, but not to work miracles; accordingly they redoubled their zeal and fervour to obtain this last gift.

Whilst the Cevennes was thus the school of enthusiasm, some of the ministers called apostles returned secretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in Nimes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and in the highest esteem among strangers, returned to preach in his own country in 1698. He was convicted, not only of preaching contrary to the edicts, but of having about ten years before held private correspondence with the enemies of the state. The intendant Baville condemned him to be broke upon the wheel. He died after the manner of the first martyrs.

1688 All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood.

After this, prophets began to start up every where, and the spirit of phrenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703, an abbé of the family of Chaila, an inspector of the missions, obtained an order from the court, to shut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. Instead of conveying them to the convent, however, he carried them to his own castle. The Calvinists took the alarm, flocked together in crouds, broke open the doors, and set the two young ladies at liberty, with other persons, they found confined there. They afterwards seized upon the abbé, to whom they made an offer of his life, on condition he would change his religion; upon his refusing, one of their prophets cried out, "Die then! the spirit condemns thee, thy sin be upon thine own head!"

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and instantly he was shot to death. Immediately after this exploit, they seized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks; after that they fell upon all the priests they met, and massacred them without mercy. Finding themselves pursued, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number daily increased. Their prophets and prophetesses declared to them, as from God, that the establishment of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon was now at hand. The abbé de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly among them, in the midst of their wild lurking places, and brought them money and arms.

This man was a son of the marquis de Guiscard, the king's sub-governor, who was one of the best men in the kingdom. The son was unworthy of such a father. Having taken refuge in Holland on account of some crime, he now came to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after, he went to London, where he was arrested in 1711, for betraying the English ministry, as he had before betrayed his own country. Being brought before the council in order to be examined, he snatched up a long pen-knife, which lay upon the table, and which seemed proper for perpetrating his purpose, and with it wounded the lord treasurer Harley. Upon this, he was sent to prison loaded with irons. He prevented the punishment prepared for him by a voluntary death. This was the man then, who, in the names of the English, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured 1703 them secretly. Their war-cry (if I may so term it) was "Liberty of conscience and no taxes." This cry seduced the populace every where, and these mad fanatics justified Lewis XIV. in his design of extirpating Calvinism. But had not the edict of Nantz been revoked, there would have been no such frenzies and insurrections to quell.

The king, at first, sent marshal de Mont-revel with some troops, who made war upon these wretches as they deserved. Those who were taken prisoners were broke upon the wheel, or burnt at the stake. But then the foldiers, who fell into their hands, were made to expire by the most cruel tortures. The king, who was engaged in war on all sides, could only spare a few troops to send against them. It was a matter of no small difficulty to surprise them amidst rocks almost inaccessible, in caverns, in woods, whither they retired by unfrequented paths, and whence they sallied again, like wild beasts from a forest. They even defeated a body of marine troops in a pitched battle. Three marshals of France were employed against them successively.

Marshal de Mont-revel was, in 1704, succeeded by marshal Villars, who, finding it more difficult to come at them, than to defeat them, after he had infused terror into them, he proposed a general amnesty. Some amongst them gladly accepted of it, finding themselves disappointed of the succours they expected from Savoy.

The most considerable of their chiefs, and indeed the only one who deserves to be mentioned,

was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and England. He was a little, fair man, of an agreeable and engaging countenance. His party gave him the name of David: from a baker's boy, he, at the age of twenty-three, became the chief over a great multitude of people, through his own courage, and the assistance of a prophetess, who got him acknowledged chief, by an express order of the Holy Ghost. He was found at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment, at the time that the amnesty was proposed. He demanded hostages of marshal Villars, which were sent him. He then came to Nimes, accompanied by one of the chiefs, while he concluded the treaty with the marshal.

He promised to form four regiments of the revolted, who were to serve the king under four colonels, of which he was ¹⁷⁰⁴ to be the first himself, and to have the naming of the other three. These regiments were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France: but this freedom was to be permitted no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries from Holland arrived, with presents and promises, to prevent their being carried into execution. They succeeded so well, as to draw off the principal fanatics from Cavalier: but he, having given his word to marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted a colonel's commission, and began to form his regiment, with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued faithful to him.

I have frequently heard, from marshal Villars's own mouth, that he asked this young man how, at his years, he could have acquired so great authority over men so savage and undisciplined. His answer was, that, whenever they disobeyed him, his prophets, whom they termed the Great Mary, became immediately inspired, and condemned to death the refractory, who were immediately executed without any further ceremony *. Having myself, since that time, put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This very extraordinary negociation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV. who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's lad, and marshal Villars presented him with his colonel's commission, and a brevet or grant of one thousand two hundred livres *per annum*.

The new colonel went to Versailles, to receive orders from the secretary of war. The king when he saw him shrugged up his shoulders. Cavalier, finding himself closely observed by the ministry, was apprehensive of some foul play, and withdrew into Piedmont, from whence he afterwards passed to Holland and England. He served in Spain, and commanded a regiment of French refugees at the famous battle of Almanza. A circumstance which

* This circumstance should be met with in the true memoirs of marshal Villars. The first volume I know to be of his writing, because it agrees with a manuscript that I have seen; the two other volumes are by another hand, and differ widely in many respects.

happened to this regiment shews to what a pitch the rage of civil war may be carried, especially when heightened by religion. The regiment commanded by Cavalier happened to be opposed to one of the French. As soon as the men knew each other, they began a bloody fight with their bayonets, without firing a single musket. I have already observed, that the bayonet is of very little use in a battle. The behaviour of the front line of three deep, after having thrown in their fire, usually decides the fate of the day: but here rage and fury exceeded the brightest deeds of valour; there were not above three hundred men left alive out of these two regiments. Marshal Berwick was wont to relate this adventure with astonishment.

Cavalier died a general-officer, and governor of the island of Jersey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of a fanatic fury, which was no longer supported by any example*.

Marshal Villars, being recalled from Languedoc, was succeeded in command by marshal Berwick. The ill success of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was sent to them by the way of Geneva. They waited for offi-

* Matters are here a little too much exaggerated. Cavalier was always reckoned an honest man in England; but, his understanding was ever held in contempt. He was only lieutenant-governor of Jersey, a place of no great consequence.

cers to be sent them from Holland and England, and they had intelligence in all the towns of the province.

We may rank in the number of the greatest conspiracies that which they formed to seize the duke of Berwick and the intendant Baviile at Nîmes, to make Languedoc and Dauphiny revolt, and to introduce the enemy into these provinces. The secret was kept by upwards of a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person discovered the whole. Upwards of two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick destroyed without mercy all these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hands; others upon the wheel, or amidst the flames; some, more addicted to prophecy than the use of arms, found means to escape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as messengers from heaven. They went forth to meet them singing psalms, and strewing their way with boughs of trees. These prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the episcopal church there had too much resemblance with that of Rome, they strove to set up their own; and so strong was their confidence, that, not doubting but with a great share of faith they should be able to perform miracles, they offered to raise a person from the dead, and even any one that should be chosen. The populace are every where the same, and the presbyterians might have joined those fanatics against the established church. The English ministry therefore took that course which should be always taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead

dead-body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards; every thing passed in a juridical manner, and the scene ended with sentencing the prophets to stand on the pillory.

These excesses of fanaticism could meet with but little encouragement in England, where philosophy began to establish its reign. They had ceased to disturb Germany since the treaty of Westphalia, by which equal protection was given to the three religions, the catholic, the evangelic, and the reformed. The republic of the United Provinces, by a politic toleration, admitted into its bosom all religions whatever. In short, towards the end of this century, France was the only state that experienced any violent ecclesiastical disputes, notwithstanding the progress of reason.

This reason, which is so slow in introducing itself among the learned, could as yet hardly make its way to the doctors, and still less among the common people. It requires to be first established among those of superior rank and capacity, from whence it descends lower by degrees, till at length it comes to govern the people, even though they are unacquainted with it; but seeing their superiors behave with prudence and moderation, they learn to do the same themselves. This however is one of the great works of time, and that time was not yet come*.

* Mr. de Voltaire cannot be too much commended for the spirit of independence, candour, and moderation, so sensibly and elegantly displayed in this chapter.

C H A P. CCVIII.

Of JANSENISM.

CALVINISM from its very nature necessarily produced civil wars, and shook the foundations of states. Jansenism could only raise theological disputes and paper wars; for the reformers of the sixteenth century having destroyed all the ties by which the Romish church held mankind, having treated what she held most sacred as idolatry, having set open the doors of her cloisters, and given her treasures into the hands of the laity, it necessarily followed that one of the two parties must be subdued by the other; and indeed the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in any country without being the cause of bloodshed and persecution.

But the Jansenists did not attack the church, nor did they strike at her fundamental tenets, or her wealth; but by writing upon abstracted questions, sometimes against the Calvinists, sometimes against the Catholics and the Popes decrees, they at length fell into general contempt; and their sect is now despised by almost all Europe, notwithstanding that it has been supported by several persons of distinguished characters and abilities.

While the Huguenot party was an object of the most serious attention, Jansenism rather perplexed than disturbed the state. This controversy, like many others, had its rise from abroad. It was begun in 1552, by a certain doctor

doctor of Louvain, named Michael Bay, or Baius, according to the pedantry of those times. This man took upon him to maintain certain propositions concerning grace and predestination. This question, like almost all others in metaphysics, had its foundation in the labyrinth of fatality and free will, in which all ages have been bewildered, and where man has no clue to direct his steps.

The spirit of enquiry, which has been implanted in us by the Creator, and is a necessary incitement to guide us to instruction, too often carries us beyond the proper bounds, in the same manner as many other movements of the soul, which if not strong enough to carry us to extravagant lengths, would perhaps want sufficient power to excite us properly.

Thus mankind have run into disputes upon what is understood and what is not understood : but the ancient philosophers always carried on their controversies peaceably ; whereas those of our divines are frequently bloody, and always turbulent.

The Franciscans, who understood as little of these points as Michael Baius himself, looked upon the doctrine of free-will as overthrown, and the tenets of Scotus in danger. They had before been irritated against Baius, on account of a dispute of much the same nature ; so that they referred seventy-six of his propositions before Pius V. And Sixtus Quintus, then general of the Franciscan order, was the person who drew up the bull of condemnation in the year 1567.

Whether through the fear of exposing themselves, a dislike to entering into a disquisition on

such subtleties, or an indifferencè and contempt for the theses of Baius, they condemned his seventy-six propositions in general as favouring of heresy, ill-sounding, rash, and suspicious, without specifying any thing in particular, or entering into a detail. This method of proceeding, borders very near upon absolute power, and leaves little room for disputation. The doctors of Louvain were greatly confounded when they received the bull. There was one particular sentence in which by the position of a comma, certain opinions of Michael Baius were either condemned or admitted. The university sent a deputation to Rome, to know of his holiness where the comma was to be placed. The court of Rome, which had other business upon its hands, sent the deputies back with no other answer than a fresh copy of the bull, in which there was no comma at all. This was deposited in the archives. The grand vicar, whose name was Morillon, insisted that the bull ought to be received, "even though it should be erroneous." Morillon was certainly right in a political sense; for undoubtedly it is much better to receive an hundred erroneous bulls, than to reduce as many towns to ashes, as the Huguenots and their adversaries have done. Baius took Morillon's advice, and quietly retracted his opinion.

Some years afterwards, Spain, which was as fruitful in scholastic writers as it was barren in philosophers, produced the Jesuit, Molina, who thought he had clearly discovered the manner in which God acts upon the creature, and how the latter resists his operations. He distinguished between natural and supernatural orders, predesti-

destination to grace, and predestination to glory; preventing and co-operating grace. He was the first who invented the doctrine of concomitant concurrence, of intermediate knowledge, and congruism. The two latter in particular were new ideas. God, by his intermediate knowledge, skilfully consults the will of man to know what man would do if he was assisted with his grace, and then according to the use which he foresees a free agent would make thereof, he takes his measures for disposing man; and these measures make what is called congruism.

The Spanish Dominicans, who understood no more of this explanation than the Jesuits, but were jealous of them, declared in their writings that "Molina's book was the forerunner of Antichrist."

The court of Rome took cognizance of this dispute, which was then under the consideration of the grand inquisitor, and with great prudence imposed silence upon both parties, which however was observed by neither.

At length the affair came to be seriously pleaded before Clement VIII. and to the disgrace of human understanding, all Rome took part in the cause. A Jesuit, by name Achilles Gaillard, assured the pope, that he had certain means to restore the peace of the church; and very gravely proposed to allow of free predestination, provided the Dominicans would admit the mediate science, and reconcile the two systems as well as they could. The Dominicans refused to accept of Gaillard's expedient. Their famous brother Lemos maintained preventive concurrence

rence as the completion of active virtue. Numberless congregations started up on this occasion, without knowing any thing of what each other meant.

Clement VIII. died before he was able to reduce the arguments on each side to a clear sense. Paul V. renewed the trial: but as he was engaged in a contest of greater importance with the Venetian state, he put a stop to all those meetings, then known by the name de Auxiliis. This name, by which they are still known, and which is equally obscure with the disputes in question, was given them because it signifies assistance, and that this controversy related to the assistance which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V. terminated the affair, by enjoining the two parties to live in peace.

While the Jesuits were thus establishing their doctrine of mediate knowledge and congruism, Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, revived some of Baius's notions in a large volume which he wrote on St. Augustin, and which was not printed till after his death; so that he became the head of a sect without once dreaming of it. This book was scarcely read by any one, notwithstanding the disturbance it has occasioned. But du Verger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyran, a great friend to Jansenius, a man as violent in his temper as he was prolix and obscure in his writings, came to Paris, where he found means to gain over some young doctors and old women. The Jesuits applied to the court of Rome to have Jansenius's book condemned, as a supplement to that of Baius; this they obtained in the year 1641. But at Paris
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the faculty of divines, and all those who dealt in argumentation, were divided in their opinions. There did not seem much to be gained by adopting the sentiment of Jansenius, that God commands impossibilities. This doctrine is neither philosophical nor consolatory. But the secret pleasure of being of a party, the general odium which the Jesuits had incurred, the desire of being singular, and a restlessness of mind formed a sect.

The faculty condemned five propositions of Jansenius, by a plurality of voices: these five propositions were extracted from his book with great fidelity, as to the sense, but not in his own words. Sixty doctors appealed to parliament for an abuse, and the parties were summoned to appear before the Chamber of Vacations.

The parties themselves however did not make their appearance. But on the one hand a doctor named Habert, stirred up the minds of the people against Jansenius, while on the other side, the famous Arnauld, the disciple of St. Cyran, defended Jansenism with all the force of an impetuous eloquence. He hated the Jesuits even more than he loved efficacious grace, and was held in still greater hatred by them, as being born of a father who having applied himself to the bar, had pleaded with great vehemence for the university against their establishment. His family had acquired great credit, both in the army and long robe. His genius and the circumstances in which he then was, determined him to engage in a paper war, and to set up for the head of a party: a kind of ambition which makes all others give way to it.

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He continued to wage war against the Jesuits till he was eighty years of age. There are an hundred and four volumes of his writing, of which hardly one is at present to be found among the classical books which are the ornaments of the age of Lewis XIV. and are justly esteemed the library of all nations. His works were all of them in great vogue at the time he lived, both on account of the reputation of the author, and the then warmth of disputation. But that warmth is now allayed, and the books themselves in a manner forgotten. None of them are now regarded, but those which simply relate to reasoning; his geometry, his rational grammar, and his logic, in which he was deeply read. No one was ever born with a more philosophical turn of mind; but his philosophy was corrupted by a spirit of faction, which hurried him away; and for above sixty years involved a genius formed to enlighten mankind in wretched school disputations, and in those evils incident to obstinacy of opinion.

The university was divided with relation to the five propositions, as were likewise the bishops. Eighty-eight of the French bishops wrote in a body to pope Innocent X. requesting him to give his decision, and eleven others besought him not to do any thing in the affair. Innocent proceeded to sentence, and condemned each proposition apart, but without once quoting the pages from whence they were extracted, or those which preceded or followed.

This omission, which would not have been done in civil matters in the meanest court of judicature, was done by the Sorbonne, the Jansenists, the Jesuits, and the supreme pontiff.

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The basis of the five condemned propositions is evidently to be found in Jansenius; you have nothing more to do than to look into Vol. III. of the Paris edition, printed in 1641, where, in page 138, you will find these very words: "All this plainly and evidently demonstrates, that there is nothing more certain and fundamental in the doctrine of St. Augustin, than that there are certain commands impossible, not only to the unbelieving, the blind, and the hardened, but even to the faithful and righteous, notwithstanding their will and efforts, according to the strength they are endued with; and that they fail of grace, which can alone render those commands possible." We also read in page 165, "That, according to St. Augustine, Jesus Christ did not die for all men."

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the assembly of the clergy to receive the pope's bull unanimously. He was at that time upon good terms with his holiness; he did not love the Jansenists, and with good reason hated all factions.

The French church seemed now restored to peace; but the Jansenists wrote so many letters, quoted so often St. Augustin, and got so many female converts to engage in their interests, that Jansenism prevailed more than ever after the bull was received.

A priest of St. Sulpice thought proper to refuse absolution to Mr. de Liencourt, because it had been said he did not believe the five propositions to be in Jansenius's book, and that he harboured heretics in his house. This was a fresh subject of scandal, and occasioned a new paper war, in which Dr. Arnauld distinguished himself, and, in a letter which he wrote to a
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real or imaginary duke or peer, he maintained that the propositions which had been condemned were not in Jansenius, but were actually to be found in the writings of St. Augustin, and several other fathers. He moreover added, that "St. Peter was a righteous man, in whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was wanting."

It is true that St. Augustin and St. John Chrysostom had asserted the same thing; but time and circumstances, which change all things, made Arnauld culpable. As the most serious object to one party is the subject of pleasantry to the other, it was said on this occasion, that the holy fathers should have their wine mixed with water. The faculty met, and chancellor Seguier appeared at the assembly on the part of the king. Arnauld was condemned, and excluded the Sorbonne in 1654. The appearance of the chancellor among the divines wore an air of despotic power, which displeased the public; and the care taken to fill the hall with a croud of mendicant monks, who were not wont to be seen there in such numbers, gave occasion to Pascal to say in his Provincial Letters, "That it was easier to find monks than arguments."

The greatest part of these monks did not admit of congruism, intermediate knowlege, nor the necessitating grace of Molina; but they maintained a sufficient grace to which the human will may consent, but never does; an efficacious grace which it may resist and does not; and this they explained clearly, by saying, that this grace might be resisted in the divided, but not in the compound sense.

If these sublime matters are not very agreeable to human reason, the opinion of Arnauld and the Jansenists seems too much to agree with pure Calvinism. This was exactly the ground of the quarrel between the Gomerians and Arminians, which divided Holland as Jansenism had divided France ; but in Holland it became a political faction, rather than a dispute between persons at leisure. It stained the scaffold with the blood of Barneveldt, a deed of atrocious violence, which is now held in detestation by the Dutch, after having had their eyes opened to the absurdity of these disputes, the horror of persecution, and the happy necessity of toleration; the resource of wise governors against the short-lived enthusiasm of those who delight in controversy. In France this dispute produced only a few edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet, and pamphlets, because the state was at that time employed in quarrels of more importance.

Arnauld then was only excluded the faculty. This small persecution gained him a great number of friends ; but both himself and the Jansenists had still the church and the pope against them. One of the first steps taken by Alexander VII. on his succeeding Innocent X. in the papal chair, was to renew the censures against the five propositions. The French bishops, who had already drawn up one formulary, now framed a new one, which concluded in this manner ; “ I condemn, both with heart and voice, the doctrine of the five propositions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, that doctrine not being of St. Augustin, whom Jansenius has badly explained.”

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This formulary was afterwards to be subscribed, and the bishops presented it to all those in their dioceses who were suspected by them. They required the nuns of Port Royal of Paris and Port Royal des Champs to sign it. These two houses were the sanctuaries of Jansenism, as being governed by Arnauld and St. Cyran.

There was an house set apart near the monastery of Port Royal des Champs, whither several learned and pious men had retired, but headstrong and linked together by conformity of opinion: here they amused themselves with instructing a select set of young persons. From this school came the celebrated Racine, a poet best acquainted with the human heart of any in the world. Pascal, the chief of French satyrists, for Despreaux was but the second, was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous recluses. The formulary was presented to the sisters of Port Royal of Paris, and Port Royal des Champs, for them to sign; but they made answer, that their conscience would not permit them to acknowledge, with the pope and bishops, that the five propositions were in Jansenius's book, which they had never read; that his meaning had certainly been mistaken, and, though the five propositions might perhaps be erroneous, yet that Jansenius himself was not to blame.

This obstinacy of theirs incensed the court. D'Aubray, the lieutenant-civil (for at that time there was no lieutenant de police) went to Port Royal des Champs, and obliged the religious recluses to quit the place of their retirement, together with the young people whom they educated:

cated : at the same time they threatened to destroy the two monasteries ; but they were saved by a miracle.

Mademoiselle de Perrier, a boarder in the monastery of the Port Royal of Paris, and niece to the celebrated Pascal, was afflicted with a disorder in one of her eyes ; at Port Royal they had a ceremony of kissing one of the thorns of the crown which had been put on the head of our Saviour. This thorn had been a long time preserved at Port Royal. It would not be very easy to prove how it was preserved and transported from Jerusalem to the suburbs of St. James. However, this young lady kissed the thorn, and happened to be cured of her disorder a short time afterwards. Upon this occasion, they did not fail to declare and affirm, that she had been cured in an instant of a dangerous fistula lachrymalis. This young woman lived till the year 1728. Several persons who had lived a considerable time with her, assured me, that her cure had been very long, which is indeed the most probable. But it is very unlikely, that God, who has not wrought any miracles to bring over to our holy religion three fourths of the earth, who are either strangers to it, or hold it in abhorrence, should have interrupted the order of nature, in favour of a young girl, in order to justify a dozen nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansenius did not write ten or twelve lines which were ascribed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention to that imputed to him.

The miracle, however, made so great a noise, that the Jesuits durst not deny the reality of it. They therefore fell upon the scheme of working miracles

miracles on their side, but they did not succeed equally well: the miracles of the Jansenists were the only ones in fashion at that time. A few years afterwards these latter performed another miracle. One sister, Gertrude of Port Royal, was cured of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy however met with no success: the time for those things was past, and sister Gertrude had not a Pascal for her uncle.

The Jesuits, though they had both popes and kings on their side, were entirely sunk in the opinion of the people. They revived against them the old stories of Henry the Great, whose assassination was plotted by Barriere, and executed by Chatêl, who had been educated in their schools; the punishment of father Guignard, and the banishment of their society from France and Venice. Every method was practised to render them odious. Pascal went still further, he made them ridiculous. His Provincial Letters, which made their appearance at that time, were models of eloquence and railery. The best comedies of Moliere have not more wit in them than the first part of those letters, nor the writings of Bossuet more sublimity than the latter.

It is true, that the whole of this book is founded upon false principles. He has artfully charged the whole society with the extravagant opinions of some few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits; which he might with equal ease have detected among the casuists of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; but the Jesuits alone were the persons he wanted to attack. In these letters, he endeavoured to prove that they had a settled design to corrupt the morals of mankind:

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a design which no sect or society ever had or ever could have. But his business was not to be right, but to divert the public.

The Jesuits, who at that time had not one good writer amongst them, could not wipe off the scandal cast upon them by this book, which was one of the best written that had yet appeared in France. But nearly the same thing happened with regard to them in their disputes, as did formerly to cardinal Mazarin. The Blots, Marignis, and Barbançons, had diverted all France at his expence, but the cardinal still continued master of the kingdom: in like manner, these fathers had sufficient interest to procure an arret of the parliament of Provence, ordering the Provincial Letters to be burnt, by which they made themselves still more ridiculous and odious to the nation.

The principal nuns were carried away from the abbey of Port Royal by a guard of two hundred men, and dispersed into other convents, none being allowed to remain but such as would sign the formulary. This affair interested all Paris. Sister Perdreau and sister Passart, who subscribed this formulary, and prevailed on some others to do the same, became the subjects of lampoons and humorous songs, with which the town was over-run by a parcel of idle persons, who see nothing but the ridiculous side of things, and make themselves merry with every occurrence, while those of a sincere faith are afflicted, adversaries find fault, and the government takes its own measures.

The Jansenists became stronger by persecution. Four prelates, Arnauld bishop of Angers, brother to the doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais,

vais, Pavillon of Alet, and Caulet of Pamiers, the same who afterwards opposed Lewis XIV. on the subject of the Regale, declared themselves openly against the formulary. This was a new formulary, framed by pope Alexander VII. alike in every thing essential to the former, received in France by the bishops, and even by the parliament. Alexander, incensed at this opposition, named nine French bishops to commence a process against their four refractory brethren. Upon this the spirit of animosity grew more outrageous than ever.

But just at the time that the flame of disputation was at the highest, to know whether five propositions were or were not in Jansenius, ~~Raf-~~ pigliosi became pope, under the name of Clement IX. and made every thing quiet for some time. He prevailed on the dissenting bishops to sign the formulary *sincerely*, instead of *purely* and *simply*. Thus it seemed permitted to believe, that tho' the five propositions were condemned, they might not be extracted from Jansenius. The four bishops gave some small explanations of their own, and Italian complaisance thus allayed French vivacity. One word substituted in place of another, brought about this peace, which is called *The peace of Clement IX.* and even *The peace of the Church*, though the whole affair had been only about a dispute, either unknown to, or despised by the rest of the world. It had been evident ever since the time of Baius, that the popes had always had in view to suppress these unintelligible controversies, and to bring the two parties to teach that morality which every one understands. Nothing could
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be more reasonable than such an intention in the pontiffs; but they had to deal with men.

The government set at liberty the Jansenists who had been confined in the Bastile, and, amongst the rest, Saci, author of a version of the Testament. Several nuns were recalled from their exile, who all signed the formulary *sincerely*, and thought they triumphed by this expression. Arnould now came forth from his retreat, and was presented to the king, kindly received by the pope's nuncio, and looked upon by the public as a father of the church. From that time he promised to enter the lists only against the Calvinists, for he must necessarily be engaged in some kind of dispute. In this time of tranquillity he sent into the world his book on the Perpetuity of Faith, in which he was assisted by Nicole, and this gave birth to the great controversy betwixt them and Claude the minister, a controversy in which each party, according to custom, claimed the victory.

The peace of Clement IX. having been given to restless minds that were perpetually in movement, proved but of short duration. Secret cabals, intrigues, and insults, continued on both sides.

The dutchess of Longueville, sister to the great Condé, so well known in the civil wars, and so noted for her amours, now grown old, and without any employment, became a votary to religion; and, as she hated the court and loved intrigue, she turned Jansenist. She added a wing to the abbey of Port Royal des Champs, whither she retired sometimes with the recluses. They were then in their most flourishing state. Arnould, Nicole, le Maitre, Herman, Saci,
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and several other persons, who, though less famous, had nevertheless considerable merit, assembled at her house. In the room of that sprightly wit to which the dutchess had been accustomed at the H^{otel} de Rambouillet, they substituted conversations of a more solid kind, and that nervous and animated sense which so remarkably distinguished their compositions and discourses. They contributed not a little to diffuse true taste and eloquence thro' France; but unhappily they were still more anxious to spread their opinions. They seemed to be themselves a proof of that doctrine of fatality with which they were reproached. It might be said that they were carried away by an irresistible determination to draw down upon themselves persecutions for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired the most solid reputation, and have enjoyed their lives in a happy tranquillity, by only renouncing these frivolous disputes.

The Jesuitical faction, who still smarted from the satire of the Provincial Letters, stirred heaven and earth against their adversaries. Madame de Longueville, being no longer able to form cabals in favour of the malecontents, went to work in support of Jansenism. There were frequent meetings at Paris, sometimes at her house, and sometimes at Arnauld's. The king, who had already resolved to extirpate Calvinism, would not suffer a new sect. He threatened them; and at last Arnauld, dreading
 1679 ing to encounter enemies armed with sovereign authority, and being deprived of the support of the dutchess of Longueville, whom death had lately robbed him of, determined to
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quit France for ever, and go to live in the Netherlands unknown, without fortune, and even without domestics; he whose nephew had been minister of state, and who might himself have been a cardinal: but the pleasure of writing with freedom outweighed every other consideration with him. He lived till the year 1694 in obscure retirement from the world, and known only to his friends, continually employed in writing, always the philosopher, superior to ill fortune, and to his last moments giving an example of a pure, resolute, and unshaken soul.

His party was always persecuted in the catholic Netherlands, called the Country of Obedience, where the pope's bulls are sovereign laws; they were still more harrassed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the question, "Whether the five propositions were really in Jansenius?" was always the sole pretext for these little intestine broils. The distinction of *de facto* and *de jure* now occupied the minds of many. At length, in 1701, they proposed a theological question which was called *Le cas de conscience par excellence*, "Whether the sacraments could be given to a person, who, though he subscribed to the formulary, believed in his heart that the pope, and even the church, might be mistaken in facts?" Forty doctors gave it under their hands that absolution might be given to such a man.

Immediately the controversy was renewed; the pope and bishops insisted on being believed upon facts. Noailles, archbishop of Paris, decreed that belief was to be given to divine faith *de jure*, and to human faith *de facto*. Others

again, amongst whom was Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, who was not well pleased with Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better perhaps to have cited the passages in the book itself; but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI. published a bull in 1705, called *Vineam Domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of a divine or human faith.

It was a new custom introduced into the church to make women sign these bulls. This respect was again shewn to the sisters of Port-Royal des Champs, and cardinal de Noailles was obliged to cause it to be carried to them by way of trial. They signed it, without detracting any thing from the peace of Clement IX. and confining themselves to a respectful silence with regard to the case *de facto*.

It can hardly be said which is the most extraordinary, whether the confession insisted on from women, that five propositions were contained in a Latin book, or the obstinate refusal of these nuns.

The king applied to the pope for a bull for the suppression of their monastery. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments, and their advocate was confined in the Bastile. All the nuns were removed into separate convents that were more obedient. The lieutenant de police in 1709 ordered their house to be razed from the foundation; and lastly, in 1711, all the bodies that were buried in the church, and in the church-yard, were removed from thence, and carried elsewhere.

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The troubles, however, were not suppressed with this monastery. The Jansenists were still for caballing, and the Jesuits for making themselves appear necessary. Father Quênél, a priest of the oratory, a friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and who accompanied him in his retreat to his last moments, had, in 1671, composed a book of pious reflections on the text of the New Testament. This book contains some maxims which seem to favour Jansenism; but these are blended with such a number of pious sentiments, and are so replete with that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that the work was received with universal approbation. The good tendency of this book manifests itself in almost every line, and it requires the minutest search to discover the faults. Several bishops bestowed the highest encomiums on this book, even when imperfect, which they confirmed, when the author had put the finishing hand to it. I myself know that the abbe Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome the first year of Clement XI's pontificate, and going one day to wait upon this pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, found him reading father Quênél's book: "This is, said the pope, a truly excellent work; we have no one at Rome capable of writing in such a manner. I should be glad to bring the author to my court." This very pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, consider these encomiums of Clement XI. and his subsequent censure as a contradiction. A person may be touched with the shining beauties of a work at the first reading, and afterwards condemn faults

which then escaped his notice. Of all the French prelates, cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, gave the most sincere commendations to this book. He declared himself its patron when bishop of Chalons, and the work was dedicated to him. This cardinal was a person equally eminent for virtue and learning, of the most mild and amiable disposition, and a sincere friend to peace. He protected some of the Jansenist party, tho' not of their persuasion; and, without having any great affection for the Jesuits, he neither injured nor feared them.

This order began to acquire great influence when father la Chaise had the government of Lewis XIV's conscience, and in consequence was the head of the Gallican church. Father Quênel, dreading their power, had retired to Brussels with the learned Benedictine Gerberon, a priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party, of which he became the chief, after the death of the famous Arnould, and, like him, enjoyed the flattering glory of establishing to himself a sovereignty independent of princes, of reigning over consciences, and of being the soul of a party composed of the brightest geniuses. The Jesuits soon found out Quênel in his retirement, and accused him to Philip V. who was still master of the Netherlands, persecuting him as they had done his master Arnould with Lewis XIV. They obtained an order from the Spanish king
1763 to seize the person of these religious recluses. Quênel was thrown into prison in the archbishopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who thought the Jansenist party would make his fortune if he could compass the deliverance of
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their chief, broke through the walls, and helped Quénel to make his escape, who returned to Amsterdam, where he died in 1719, in an extreme old age, after having contributed to establish some Jansenist churches in Holland: but this weak flock soon dwindled away.

When Quénel was taken into custody, they at the same time seized upon his papers, in which were found evident proofs of a formed party. There was a copy of an ancient contract made by the Jansenists with Antonietta Bourignon the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great fortune, who, in the name of her spiritual director, had purchased the island of Nordstrand, near Holstein, as an asylum for those whom she pretended to associate into a mystical sect, which she proposed to establish.

This Bourignon had printed, at her own expence, nineteen large volumes of pious meditations, and had spent the half of her fortune in making proselytes. However, she succeeded only in making herself ridiculous; and had even suffered all the persecutions which are the consequences of innovations. At length, despairing of settling in her island, she sold it again to the Jansenists, who, like herself, were incapable of making any establishment there.

Amongst the manuscripts of Quénel, there was likewise found a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been so very foolish. Lewis XIV. having sent the count d'Avaux, in 1684, with full powers to grant a truce of twenty years to all the powers who were willing to accept of it, the Jansenists, under the title of "The disciples of St. Augustin," had formed

the idle scheme of getting themselves included in this truce, as if they had been really a formidable party, as the Calvinists had so long been. This ridiculous project, however, was not executed; but the propositions of a peace between the king of France and the Jansenists had been actually drawn up in writing. They had certainly a view in this scheme to make themselves too considerable. This alone was sufficient to make them culpable; and Lewis XIV. was easily persuaded to look upon them as a dangerous sect.

He wanted discernment, or he would have known, that empty and speculative notions will fall of themselves, if left to their own insignificance. It was giving them a degree of consequence which did not belong to them. It was no difficult matter to make Quênel's book appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a seditious person. The Jesuits prevailed upon the king to petition himself for a condemnation of this book at Rome. This was in fact condemning cardinal de Noailles, who had been one of its most zealous patrons. They flattered themselves, and not without reason, that Clement XI. would be glad of an opportunity to mortify the archbishop of Paris. It will be necessary to observe, that when Clement XI. was only cardinal Albani, he published a book written entirely on Molénist principles, by his friend cardinal de Sfrondati, and that Noailles had censured it. It was natural then to think, that now Albani was become pope, he would at least oppose the encomiums given to Quênel's book, as those bestowed on his friend's book had been before censured.

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This expectation proved to be well grounded. Pope Clement XI. in 1708, issued a decree against Quénel's book. But the situation of temporal affairs at that time hindered this spiritual business, which had been warmly solicited, from being carried on. The court was piqued at Clement XI. for having acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain, after having before acknowledged Philip V. The decree was found in some places not valid, and was rejected in France, and the controversy lay dormant till the death of father de la Chaise, the king's confessor, a man of a mild disposition, who was always ready to adopt pacific measures, and who always kept up a good understanding with cardinal de Noailles, as the relation of madam de Maintenon.

The Jesuits had a right to appoint a confessor for the king of France, as well as almost all the other catholic princes in Europe. They enjoy this privilege in virtue of their institution, by which they renounce all ecclesiastical dignities; so that what their founder established through humility is become the means of grandeur. In proportion as Lewis XIV. advanced in years, the office of confessor became more important. This place was given to father le Tellier, son to an attorney of Viré in Lower Normandy; a gloomy, hot-headed, and inflexible man, who concealed the violence of his temper under the appearance of cool indifference: he did all the hurt that could be done by one in his office, where there are but too many opportunities of inspiring such sentiments as one pleases, and of destroying an adversary; and he had many private injuries to revenge.

The Jansenists had got one of his books on the Chinese ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewise a personal dislike to cardinal de Noailles, and he was not of a disposition to restrain his passions. He soon raised disturbances in the whole church of France. In 1711, he drew up letters and mandates to be signed by the bishops, and sent them several articles of accusation against cardinal de Noailles, to which they had only to sign their names. Such practices meet with proper punishment in secular affairs; but here, though they were discovered, they still succeeded*.

The king's conscience suffered as much from the mean arts of his confessor as his authority did from a rebellious faction. Cardinal de Noailles, in vain, demanded justice of his majesty, for these mysteries of iniquity. The confessor persuaded him, that he made use of human means to bring about divine matters; and indeed,

* It is said, in the life of the duke of Orleans, that the cardinal de Noailles having accused father le Tellier of selling church-livings, that Jesuit expressed himself thus to the king: "I freely consent to be burnt alive if this accusation can be proved, on condition that the cardinal shall suffer the same punishment if he does not prove it."

This story is taken from some of the pieces that were handed about on the affair of the constitution, and these pieces are as full of absurdities as the life of the duke of Orleans. Most of them were written by a set of wretches, merely for the sake of getting money; these sort of people do not know, that a person who has his credit to maintain with a prince whose confessor he is, would hardly propose to that prince to condemn his archbishop to the flames for his vindication.

All the idle stories of this nature may be found collected in the memoirs of Maintenon. We should be careful to distinguish between facts and hearsays.

as he defended the pope's authority, and the unity of the church, he seemed, in the main, to have right on his side. The cardinal applied to the dauphin, duke of Burgundy, but found him prepossessed by the letters and friends of the archbishop of Cambray. Human frailty finds an entrance into every breast; Fenelon was not yet philosopher sufficient to forget, that cardinal de Noailles had been instrumental in getting him censured, and Quénel now suffered for madam Guion.

The cardinal found no greater support from the interest of madam de Maintenon. This affair is alone sufficient to shew the character of that lady, who had no sentiments of her own, and placed her whole study in conforming to those of the king. The few following lines of hers to the cardinal de Noailles will enable us to form a true judgment of her, of father le Tellier's intrigues, and of the king's sentiments on this occasion; and give great light into the affair itself: "You are sufficiently acquainted with me (says she in her letter) to know what my thoughts are on the late discovery, but I have many reasons to be cautious how I say any thing. It is not my business to judge or condemn; I have only to be silent, and to pray for the church, for the king, and for you. I have delivered your letter to his majesty, who has read it: this is all I can say to you about it, being oppressed with sorrow."

The cardinal-archbishop, being thus insulted by a Jesuit, took away the power of preaching and confessing from all the Jesuits in France, excepting only a few of the most moderate and discreet. By his place he had like-

wife the dangerous right of hindering le Tellier from confessing the king; but he did not dare to irritate his sovereign to such a degree; and therefore left him respectfully in the hands of his enemy *. “ I am apprehensive (said he writing to madam de Maintenon) that I shew too mean a submission to the king, in thus leaving power in the hands of one so unworthy of it. I pray God that he will open his eyes to the danger he is in by entrusting his soul to a man of such a character †.”

We read in several of the memoirs of those times, that le Tellier declared either he must lose his place, or the cardinal his. It is not improbable that he might think so, but very unlikely that he should declare it.

When two parties are exasperated against each other, both frequently take steps which prove fatal to them. The partizans of father

* Consult madame de Maintenon's letters. It may easily be perceived that the author of this work was well acquainted with those letters before they were published, and that he has taken nothing upon trust.

† When we are provided with letters of such good authority, we may boldly venture to quote them, as being the most valuable materials in history; but what trust can be put in a letter which is supposed to have been written by cardinal de Noailles to the king, in which he is made to express himself thus: “ I was the first who laboured to ruin the clergy, in order to save your state and support your throne. It is not allowable for you to demand an account of my conduct.” Is it probable that a wise and discreet subject should write so insulting and daring a letter to his sovereign? This is no other than a mean and false imputation; it is to be found in page 141, Vol. V. of the Memoirs of Maintenon, and, as it is destitute of all authority and probability, ought not to meet with the least regard.

le Tellier, and those bishops who aspired at a cardinalship, made use of the royal authority to blow up those sparks which might have been extinguished. Instead of imitating the conduct of Rome, which had several times imposed silence on both parties; instead of curbing the insolence of the Jesuit, and soothing the cardinal, instead of prohibiting these controversies, in the same manner as duels, and making the clergy, as well as the nobility, useful without being dangerous; in a word, instead of crushing the two parties by the weight of the supreme power, supported by reason and by all the magistrates, Lewis XIV. thought he acted right in soliciting Rome himself, for a declaration of war, and procuring that famous Constitution, which embittered all the remainder of his life.

Father le Tellier and his party sent an hundred and three propositions to Rome, to be there censured, of which the holy office condemned one hundred and one. This bull, which was published in the month of September 1713, raised a flame throughout the whole kingdom, as soon as it made its appearance in France. The king had applied for it, as a means to prevent a schism, and it was likely to produce one. The clamour against it was general, because, among those hundred and one propositions, there were several which appeared to every one to carry the most innocent meaning, and the purest morality. A numerous assembly of bishops was held at Paris: forty accepted the bull for the sake of peace, but at the same time, they added certain explanations, to quiet the scruples of the people. The direct and unreserved accep-
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tation was sent to the pope, and the modifications were reserved for the people. By this means, they thought at once to satisfy the pope, the king, and the people; but cardinal de Noailles, and seven other bishops of this assembly, who joined with him, refused both the bull and its modifications: they wrote to the pope, requesting to have these modifications from his holiness himself. This was affronting him with the appearance of respect.

Accordingly the king would not permit it to be done, and hindered the letter being sent, remanded the bishops back to their diocesses, and forbade the cardinal to appear at court. This persecution procured the archbishop an additional share of credit with the public. The seven other bishops again joined him: there was now a real division in the episcopacy, among all ranks of the clergy, and all religious orders. Every one allowed, that the fundamental points of religion were not concerned in this dispute, and yet a civil dissention was raised in the minds of people, as if Christianity itself was in danger of being subverted, and as many political resources were put in action as in the most profane affairs.

These resources were chiefly employed to get the constitution received by the Sorbonne. And it was registered, notwithstanding the majority of votes was against it. The ministry
1714 could hardly find a sufficient number of lettres de cachet to confine or banish those who opposed it.

This bull had been registered in parliament, with a proper reservation of the ordinary rights of the crown, the liberties of the Gallican church,

church, and the power and jurisdiction of the bishops ; but the public clamour got the better of obedience. Cardinal de Bissi, one of the most zealous defenders of the bull, acknowledged that it could not have been received with greater indignity at Geneva than it was at Paris.

The people were particularly incensed against father le Tellier. Nothing is more apt to excite indignation than a priest exalted to power ; it seems a violation of his vows ; but if he abuses this power, he is held in execration. Le Tellier presumed so much on his influence, that he even proposed the deposing of cardinal de Noailles in a national council. 1715 Thus did this priest make his prince, his penitent, and his religion, subservient to his revenge ; and yet, with all this, I have strong reasons to believe that he was a well-meaning man : so apt are men to be blinded by their zeal and prejudices.

In order to prepare this council, which was to depose a man become the idol of Paris and of the whole kingdom, for the purity of his manners, the amiableness of his character, and still more by the persecution he suffered ; they prevailed on Lewis XIV. to order a declaration to be registered in parliament, by which every bishop, who had not received the bull *purely and simply*, should be obliged to subscribe it, or be prosecuted as a rebel by the advocate-general. Chancellor Voisin, secretary at war, a rigid and arbitrary man, was the person who drew up this edict. D'Aguesseau, who understood the laws of the realm much better than Voisin, and had all that courage which youth naturally inspires, peremptorily refused to be concerned in such an affair.

affair. De Mesme, president of the council, demonstrated to the king the consequences likely to ensue. Thus the affair was protracted. The king was at this time in a dying condition, and these unhappy disputes greatly disquieted him, and contributed not a little to hasten his end. His merciless confessor was continually teasing him, tho' in this weak condition, by repeated exhortations to consummate a work which would have been far from endearing his memory. The king's domestics, filled with indignation at the confessor's behaviour, twice refused him entrance into his majesty's chamber, and at last earnestly conjured him not to speak to their royal master about the Constitution. Soon after the king died, and then a total change of affairs ensued.

The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, having, immediately upon his assuming the reins of power, changed the whole form of Lewis XIV's government, and having substituted councils in the room of the offices of the secretaries of state, erected a council of conscience, of which cardinal de Noailles was made president. They banished father le Tellier, loaded with the hatred of the public, and very little beloved by his own fraternity.

The bishops who opposed the bull appealed to a future council *sine die*. The Sorbonne, the clergy of the diocese of Paris, and whole bodies of religious orders appealed likewise; and at length cardinal de Noailles made his appeal, in 1717, but he would not publish it at first; however it was printed, contrary to his inclination. The church of France remained divided into two factions, the Acceptants and the Recusants.

cusants. The acceptants consisted of an hundred bishops, who had adhered under Lewis XIV. to the Jesuits and Capuchins. The other consisted of fifteen bishops and the whole nation. The acceptants had the court of Rome for their defender; the recusants were supported by the universities, the parliament, and the people. Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter, was printed; and each party treated the other as schismatics and heretics.

An archbishop of Rheims, named Mailli, a great and successful partisan of Rome, had subscribed his name to two papers, which the parliament ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The archbishop, when he heard of this, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and returned God thanks for having been thus ignominiously treated by schismatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a cardinal. The bishop of Soissons having been dealt with in the same manner by the parliament, signified to that assembly, "That it did not belong to them to judge, even in cases of high treason." For this he was mulcted in the sum of ten thousand livres; but the regent remitted the fine, lest, as he said, Soissons should be made a cardinal also.

The court of Rome broke out into loud reproaches; much time was spent in negotiations, in appealing and re-appealing, and all this about a few passages, now forgotten, of a book written by an old priest of fourscore, who lived on charity at Amsterdam.

The extravagant project of the funds contributed more than one would imagine to restore peace to the church. The madness of the nation for stock-jobbing, and the greediness of every
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one to snap at the bait hung out for their avarice, was so great, that those who talked about Jansenism or the bull could find no one to listen to them. The people of Paris paid as little regard to these matters as to the war that was carrying on upon the frontiers of Spain. The sudden and immense fortunes made at that time; the excess to which luxury and voluptuousness of every kind was carried, put a stop to all ecclesiastical disputes. Thus pleasure and dissipation brought about that which all the power and politics of Lewis XIV. could not effect.

The duke of Orleans laid hold of this occasion to unite the church of France. In this his policy was interested; for he dreaded to see the time when Rome, Spain, and an hundred bishops, should be all united against him.

And here he had to prevail on cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the Constitution, which that prelate looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he considered as lawful. He was to obtain more of him than his benefactor Lewis XIV. had in vain demanded. The duke of Orleans with reason expected great opposition from the parliament, whom he had banished to Pontoise. Nevertheless he gained all his points. A body of doctrine was composed, which partly satisfied both parties; and the cardinal was prevailed upon to give his promise, that he would at last accept it. The regent went himself to the grand council, with the princes of the blood and the peers, to get an edict registered, enjoining the acceptance of the bull, the suppression of all appeals, and the restoration of peace
and.

and unanimity. The parliament, which had been mortified by seeing edicts carried to the grand council which it was their right to receive, and being likewise threatned to be removed from Pontoise to Blois, registered what had been entered by the council; but always with the customary reservations, *viz.* the preservation of the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, and the lords of the realm.

The cardinal-archbishop, who had given his word to withdraw his appeal whenever the parliament should obey, now saw himself necessitated to keep his promise; and the instrument of his recantation was published the 20th of August 1720.

Du Bois, the new archbishop of Cambray, son to an apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, afterwards cardinal and prime minister, was the person who had the greatest share in bringing about this business, in which the power of Lewis XIV. had failed. No one is a stranger to the conduct, sentiments, and morals, of this minister. The licentious du Bois got the better of the pious Noailles. It is still remembered with what contempt the duke of Orleans and his minister spoke of the disputes which they opposed, and what ridicule they threw upon the controversial war. This contempt and ridicule contributed not a little to bring about a peace. People grew at length weary of such contests as afforded a subject of laughter to the rest of the world.

From this time all that was known in France by the name of Jansenism, Quietism, bulls, and theological disputes, sensibly declined; but some

some bishops who had appealed, still continued obstinately attached to their opinions.

Under the administration of cardinal de Fleury, an attempt was made to extirpate the remains of the party, by deposing one of the most stubborn prelates. To this end, old Soanin, bishop of the little town of Senés, was fixed on for an example; a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemned by the provincial synod of Ambrun, in 1728, suspended from his episcopal and clerical functions, and banished by the court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This treatment occasioned a few murmurings, which proved of no consequence. There is not at present any nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets sooner than the French.

Some remains of fanaticism still continued among a small number of the people of Paris. Certain enthusiasts imagined, that a deacon named Paris, brother to a counsellor of parliament, one who had appealed and reappealed, who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles; some of the party, who went to pray at his tomb, had their imaginations so heated, that their disordered organs produced slight convulsions. Upon this the tomb was surrounded by swarms of people, who continued to flock thither both day and night: some got upon the tomb, and took the motion they gave their bodies in mounting for miraculous convulsions. The secret abettors of the party encouraged this phrenzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar language;
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nothing was now talked of but the deaf hearing certain words, the blind partly restored to sight, and the lame walking upright for some moments; these pretended miracles were even attested upon oath by a crowd of witnesses, who thought they had beheld them, because they came thither fully prepossessed that they should behold them.

The government left this epidemical madness to itself for a month; but the concourse of people became so great, and the miracles so frequent, that they were at last obliged to shut up the church-yard, and place a guard round it; these enthusiasts then went to work their miracles in houses. This tomb of Deacon Paris proved in effect the grave of Jansenism, in the opinion of all sensible people. Such farces might have had serious consequences in more ignorant times; but those who encouraged them seemed to have mistaken the age they lived in.

The superstition however was carried so far, that a counsellor of parliament had the madness to present the king, in 1736, with a collection of these miracles, supported by a considerable number of attestations. This madman, the instrument and victim of others as mad as himself, says in the memorial presented to the king, "That credit ought to be given to witnesses who suffered death in support of their evidence." If all other books were to be lost, and this only was to remain, posterity would imagine our age to be the æra of ignorance and barbarism.

These extravagancies were in France the expiring sighs of a sect, which, being no longer supported by an Arnauld, a Pascal, nor a Nicole, and confined only to a few convulsionaries,

ries, is fallen into utter contempt; and we should hear no more mention of those disputes which disgrace reason, and do injury to religion, were it not for some busy minds, who are continually raking in these extinguished ashes, for a remaining spark of fire, which they endeavour to blow up into a new flame; but even should they succeed, the dispute concerning Molinism and Jansenism, will never again be the object of dissention. What has once become ridiculous, can never more be dangerous. The dispute will change its nature; for mankind never want a pretext to injure each other, tho' they may be without a cause.

The Jesuits seemed involved in the fall of Jansenism; their arms remained useless for want of adversaries to employ them on; they lost that credit at court which le Tellier had so grossly abused; their journal of Trevoux gained them neither the esteem nor friendship of the learned world. The bishops, over whom they had formerly domineered, confounded them with the other religious orders; and these, who had been kept under by them, now humbled them in their turn. The parliament made them sensible, more than once, of the opinion they entertained of them, by condemning some of their books, which would otherwise have been forgotten. The university, which now began to make a shining figure in literature, and had an excellent method of educating youth, robbed them of most of their pupils; and they were obliged to wait with patience till time should furnish them with men of genius, and a favourable opportunity to regain their former ascendancy.

It would be very useful for those who are infatuated with these kinds of disputes, to look into the general history of the world; for in observing the multitude of different nations, manners, and religions, they will see how very insignificant a figure a Molenist and a Jansenist makes on the theatre of the world. They will then blush at their mad fondness for a party which is lost in the common crowd, and swallowed up in the immensity of things.



C H A P. CCIX.

Of QUIETISM.

AMIDST the factions of Calvinism and the disputes of Jansenism, there happened yet another division in France about Quietism. It was an unhappy consequence of the progress of human understanding in the age of Lewis XIV. that it excited efforts to go beyond the limits prescribed to our knowledge; or rather, it was a proof that this progress might be still further extended.

The controversy about Quietism is one of those extravagant sallies of the imagination and theological subtleties, which would never have left any impression on the memory of mankind, had it not been for the names of two illustrious rivals in dispute: A woman without any credit, or even real understanding, who had only an overheated imagination, set at variance two of the greatest men in the church. Her name was
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Bouvieres de la Motte. Her family was originally of Montargis. She had been married to the son of Guion, the contractor for the canal of Briare: being left a widow when very young, with a considerable fortune, a tolerable share of beauty, and a disposition formed for distinguishing herself in public, she became possessed with what is called Spirituality. She had for her confessor a Barnabite monk, of the country of Geneva, named La Combe. This man, noted for what is common enough, a medly of passions and religion, and who died mad, plunged the mind of his penitent in mystical contemplations, to which she was already but too much inclined. The desire of being a sister Theresa, in France, prevented her from discerning the great difference between the genius of the French and Spaniards, and carried her even to greater lengths than sister Theresa. The ambition of having disciples, the strongest perhaps of every other species of ambition, took entire possession of her heart.

She and her confessor went into that small territory where the titular bishop of Geneva holds his residence. There she acquired great authority by her extensive charities, and held several conferences. She preached up an intire self-renunciation, the tranquil state of the soul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worship, and pure and disinterested love, such as is neither debased by fear, nor exalted by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, especially those of women, and some young ecclesiastics who loved the word of God, as proceeding from the mouth of a fine woman, rather more than they

they believed it, were easily led away with an eloquence of delivery, the only thing calculated to persuade minds already favourably disposed. She made profelytes; but was soon driven away from thence by the bishop, with her confessor. They went next to Grenoble; there she published a little piece intituled, *Le moyen court*, The Short Way, and another called *les Torrens*, the Torrents, both written in the same style she preached; but in a short time she was likewise obliged to leave Grenoble.

Full already of the pleasing thoughts of being ranked among the number of confessors, she had a vision, and prophesied, This prophecy she sent to father La Combe: "All hell, said she, shall rise up to stop the progress of the inward spirit and the formation of Christ Jesus in souls. And so great shall be the storm, that not one stone shall remain upon another; and I foresee that throughout the whole earth, there shall be troubles, wars, and great overthrows. The woman shall be pregnant with the inward spirit, and the dragon shall stand up before her."

The prediction was in part verified: hell indeed did not rise up against her; but on her return to Paris with her confessor, where both endeavoured to spread their doctrine in 1687, the archbishop Harlai de Chanvallon, obtained an order from the king to confine La Combe as a seducer, and to shut up in a convent madame Guion as a person disordered in her senses, and who stood in need of a cure. But before this blow, madame Guion had gained such a protection as now proved of service to her. In the palace of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy,

she had a cousin named madame de la Maison-Forte, a favourite with madame de Maintenon. She had likewise insinuated herself into the good graces of the dutchesses of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers. These, her good friends, exclaimed one and all loudly against archbishop Harlai, that he who was so well known to have a fondness for the fair sex, should persecute a woman only for discoursing on the love of God.

Madame de Maintenon, by her powerful influence, procured Guion her liberty, and got the archbishop of Paris silenced. After she was released she went to Versailles, and introduced herself into the palace of St. Cyr, where, after having dined with madame de Maintenon and another person, she assisted at the devout conferences held by the abbé de Fenelon. The princess of Harcourt, and the dutchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers, and Charôt, were of this mystical society.

The abbé Fenelon, then preceptor to the children of France, was the most engaging man about the court. He had naturally a tender heart, and a mild and lively imagination. He had embellished his mind with all that was most excellent in the Belles Lettres. He possessed a fine taste, with many other amiable qualifications, and preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity, to the gloomy and abstruse. With all these endowments he had a certain romantic turn, which inspired him, not with the reveries of madame Guion, but with a taste for the doctrine of Spirituality, which was not very unlike the notions of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue, as others are inflamed by their passions.

sions. His passion was to love God purely for himself. He saw in madame Guion a spotless soul, fraught with the same inclinations as his own, and therefore made no difficulty to associate with her.

It was strange that such a man should be led away by a weak woman, who pretended to revelations, to prophecies, and such idle stuff; who was ready to be choaked with inward grace, and made her attendants unlace her that she might empty herself (according to her own expression) of a superabundance of grace, in order to communicate it to the body of the chosen person who sat next her. But Fénélon, in his friendship and mystical notions, was as a person in love: he excused the errors, and attached himself only to that conformity of opinion with which he had been first taken.

Madame Guion, elevated and emboldened by the acquisition of such a disciple, whom she called her son, and depending on madame de Maintenon's favour, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese St. Cyr is, was alarmed, and made complaints. The archbishop of Paris likewise threatened to renew his former prosecution.

Madame de Maintenon, who intended St. Cyr wholly for a peaceable retreat; who knew how much the king was an enemy to all novelty, and who had no occasion to put herself at the head of a sect to acquire influence, and had besides her own credit and repose only in view, broke off all correspondence with madame Guion, and forbade her to appear again at St. Cyr.

The abbé de Fenelon saw the storm gathering, and was apprehensive of being disappointed of the great employments to which he aspired. He therefore advised his female friend to put herself in the hands of the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a father of the church. She accordingly submitted herself to the decisions of this prelate, received the sacrament from him, and delivered up all her writings to his examination.

The bishop of Meaux, with the king's permission, chose for his assistants in this affair, the bishop of Chalons, afterwards cardinal de Noailles, and the abbé Tronson superior of St. Sulpicius. They had a private meeting at the village of Issi, near Paris. Chanvallon, archbishop of Paris, jealous that any other persons should set themselves up as judges in his diocese, immediately fixed up a public censure on the books they had under their examination. Madame Guion retired to the city of Meaux, subscribed to all that bishop Bossuet required of her, and promised to dogmatise no more for the future.

In the mean time Fenelon was promoted to the archbishopric of Cambray in 1695, and consecrated by the bishop of Meaux. It might have been presumed, that an affair now dormant, and that had been from the beginning only a subject of ridicule, would never have been revived. But madame Guion, being accused of continuing to preach her doctrines after she had promised silence, was seized by order of the king in the same year 1695, and confined prisoner at Vincennes, as if she had been a person dangerous to the state. She could not
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possibly be so; and her pious follies did not merit the attention of the sovereign. During her confinement at Vincennes she composed a large volume of mystic poetry, more wretched even than her prose. She wrote parodies upon verses of operas, and would often sing the following lines:

*L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense :
On ne sait pas, lorsqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur n'auroit connu Vincennes ni souffrance,
S'il n'eût connu le pur amour.*

Pure, perfect love surmounts yon starry skies !
We little know when first it takes its rise,
What pangs the subject heart will prove;
Vincennes had never shock'd, nor tears bedimm'd
these eyes,
Had I ne'er felt this pure and perfect love.

The opinions of mankind are frequently influenced by time, place, and circumstances. While madame Guion was confined in prison, who in one of her phrenzies had imagined herself married to Jesus Christ, and from that time would never invoke the saints, saying, that it was not for the mistress of the family to address herself to her servants; at this very time, I say, there was application made to Rome for the canonization of Mary d'Agreda*, who

* This enthusiast, who was abbess of a convent at Agreda, pretended to have received divine orders to write the life of the Virgin Mary, which was accordingly published, under the title of the Mystic City of God, and appears to be a strange medley of madness and fanaticism.

had pretended to more visions and revelations than all the rest of the mystical tribe put together; and as an unanswerable instance of those contradictions with which the world abounds, at the Sorbonne they prosecuted as an heretic this very d'Agreda, whom they wanted to make a saint in Spain. The university of Salamanca condemned the Sorbonne, and was in return condemned by it.

Bossuet, who had long looked upon himself as the father and master of Fenelon, beheld with jealous eyes the rising reputation and credit of his disciple; and desirous of preserving that ascendant which he had over all the rest of his brethren, he required the new archbishop to join with him in the condemnation of madame Guion, and to subscribe to his pastoral instructions. Fenelon refused to sacrifice to him either his sentiments or his friend. A medium was proposed, and mutual promises made. The one accused the other of breach of faith. The archbishop of Cambray, when he departed for his diocese, caused his book entitled, "The Maxims of the Saints," to be printed at Paris; a work in which he endeavoured to palliate the charge brought against his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatifs, who raise themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection to which ordinary souls seldom aspire. The bishop of Meaux and his adherents vehemently opposed this book. They complained of it to the king, as if it had been as dangerous as it was unintelligible. His majesty spoke of it to Bossuet, of whose reputation and understanding he had a great opi-

opinion. This prelate, throwing himself on his knees before his prince, implored his pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal heresy of the archbishop of Cambray. The king and madame de Maintenon immediately consulted father de la Chaise upon the affair, who made answer, that the archbishop's book was an excellent piece; that it had greatly edified all the Jesuits; and that the Jansenists only disapproved of it. The bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he had studied some of their best writings. He did not like the Jesuits, nor they him.

The court and the city were divided; and the attention of every one being engrossed by this affair, the Jansenists had a little respite.

Bossuet wrote against Fenelon, and both sent their works to pope Innocent XII. submitting themselves to his decision. Circumstances were rather against Fenelon; for not long before, the court of Rome had strongly condemned, in the person of Molinos the Spaniard*, the Quietism of

* Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest, and founder of the sect of Quietists. He published his book on spiritual conduct at Rome, and was much followed for a series of years; but his reputation having at length awakened the jealousy of the Jesuits, they employed all their art and influence for his destruction. A process was instituted against him in the general congregation of the inquisition of Rome, held in presence of the pope and the cardinal inquisitors. Sixty-eight of the propositions were condemned as false and pernicious, scandalous, blasphemous, and heretical. He was compelled to abjure them publicly in the habit of a penitent, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died. His real character was that of an inoffensive enthusiast, who aspired at a sublime communication with God, by means of abstracted contemplation.

which the archbishop of Cambray was now accused. Cardinal d'Étrees, the French ambassador at Rome, was the person who had prosecuted Molinos. This cardinal, whom we have seen in his old age more engaged in the pleasures of society than in theology, had proceeded against Molinos merely to please the enemies of that unfortunate priest, and had even prevailed upon the king to solicit his condemnation at Rome, which he obtained but too easily: so that Lewis XIV. proved, unknown to himself, the most formidable enemy of the pure love of the mystics.

In matters of this delicate nature, nothing is more easy than to discover passages in a book under consideration resembling those in one already condemned. The archbishop of Cambray had on his side the Jesuits, and cardinal de Bouillon, lately ambassador from France to Rome. The bishop of Meaux had his own great name and the principal prelates of France for his adherents. He presented to the king the subscribed declarations of many of the bishops, and a great number of doctors, who all condemned the Maxims of the Saints.

So great was the authority of the bishop of Meaux, that father de la Chaise durst not vindicate the archbishop of Cambray to his royal penitent, and madame Maintenon entirely abandoned her friend. The king wrote to pope Innocent XII. that having had the archbishop's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the hands of the nuncio, and earnestly requested his holiness to give judgment upon it.

It

It was insinuated, and even publicly affirmed at Rome, nor are there wanting those who still believe the report, that the archbishop of Cambray was thus persecuted for no other reason but his having opposed the private marriage of the king with madame Maintenon. The anecdote-makers pretend that this lady had engaged father de la Chaise to press the king to acknowledge her for queen; that the Jesuit had artfully thrown this dangerous commission upon the abbé Fenelon; but that this preceptor of the children of the blood, preferred the honour of his country and that of his royal pupils to his own interest, and had thrown himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. to prevent a marriage, which, from its unaccountable strangeness, would have injured that monarch more with posterity than all the transitory gratifications of his life could have recompensed.

This tale is still to be found in the history of Lewis XIV. printed at Avignon. Those who have had access to that monarch, and to madame Maintenon, know how far this is from the truth. But it is true that Fenelon, having continued his education of the duke of Burgundy after his promotion to the archbishopric of Cambray, and the king during this interval having heard some confused talk about Fenelon's connection with madame Guion, and madame de la Maison-Fort, was apprehensive that Fenelon might inspire his pupil with maxims too rigid, and such principles of government and morality, as would perhaps one day become an indirect censure upon that air of greatness, that thirst for glory, those wars undertaken on the

most frivolous occasion, and that taste for luxury and pleasures, which had characterised his reign.

The king was desirous of having some conversation with the new archbishop on his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, discovered to the king some part of the principles which he afterwards unfolded in those passages of his *Telemachus* where he treats of government; principles which better suit with Plato's ideal republic, than the true manner in which mankind are to be governed. The king, after this conversation, said, that he had been discoursing with the finest and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was made acquainted with what his majesty had said, and repeated it afterwards to Mr. de Malezieux, his master for geometry. I had this from Mr. de Malezieux himself, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by cardinal Fleury.

It is certain, that from this conversation the king readily believed Fenelon to be as romantic in his religious as in his political notions.

The congregation of the Holy Office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant, * and an Augustin, to take cognizance of the affair. These are what they call at Rome the consultors. The cardinals and prelates generally leave to these monks the study of theology, to be more at leisure to follow politics, intrigues, or the pleasures of an indolent life.

* A set of begging friars of the order of St. Bernard.

The consultors, in thirty-seven sittings, examined as many propositions, and declared them erroneous by a majority of voices; and the pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a brief published and fixed up at Rome the thirteenth day of March 1699.

The bishop of Meaux triumphed; but the archbishop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory in his defeat. He submitted without restriction or reserve. He even mounted the pulpit himself at Cambray, to condemn his own book, and forbade his friends to defend it. This singular instance of condescension in a man of his learning, who might have raised a considerable party to himself, even from his persecution, added to his known candour and ingenuity, gained him the good will of every one, and made his antagonist almost hated for his victory. He ever afterwards continued to reside in his diocese, like the good archbishop and the man of letters. That sweetness of manners which shewed itself in his conversation as well as in his writings, made all who had the happiness of being acquainted with him, his affectionate friends. The persecution he underwent, and his Telemachus, gained him the veneration of all Europe. The English in particular, though they carried the war into his diocese, were the most eager to shew him respect. The duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands should be spared. He was always held dear by the duke of Burgundy, who was his pupil; and had that prince lived, he would have had a share in the administration.

In his philosophical and honourable retreat, we may see with what difficulty a man can dis-

engage himself from court. He always spoke on this head in such a feeling manner as broke through all his appearance of resignation. Several pieces upon philosophy, divinity, and polite literature, were the fruits of the leisure hours of his retirement. The duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom, consulted him on certain difficult points which concern all mankind, and yet are seldom thought of by them. He asked him whether the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated? whether this Deity required worship of us? what worship he most approved? and whether a mistaken choice was offensive to him? He started many questions of a like nature, as a philosopher who sought instruction; and the archbishop answered him like an able philosopher and divine.

After having been worsted in scholastic disputes, it would have been more agreeable to his character, had he not intermeddled in the controversy of Jansenism; nevertheless, he engaged in it. Cardinal Noailles had formerly joined with the strongest side against him. The archbishop of Cambray did the same in his turn. He was in hopes of being recalled to court and consulted; so hard is it for the mind of man to disengage itself from public affairs, after having been once embarked in them. His desires nevertheless were as moderate as his writings; and even towards the latter part of his life, he at last despised all disputation, resembling in this one particular Huet bishop of Avranches, one of the most learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almost all science, and of the human understanding itself.

The

The archbishop of Cambray, (who would believe it!) thus turned an air of Lulli:

*Jeune, j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier âge,
Sans rien prévoir.*

When young, I was exceeding wise,
And pil'd up knowledge in a heap:
Now nothing I prize,
But trifles and toys,
And creep to the grave without noise;
Nor wish to look before I leap.

He composed these verses in presence of his nephew the marquis of Fenelon, afterwards ambassador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact. It is a circumstance of very little importance in itself, only as it is a proof that in the grave tranquillity of old age, we often view in a different light what appeared so great and interesting to us at a time of life, when the active mind is the sport of its own desires and delusions*.

* The above verses are to be met with in the poetical works of madame Guion: but the archbishop's nephew having assured me more than once that they were his uncle's, and that he heard him repeat them the very day he made them, I thought I was in justice bound to restore them to their real author,

C H A P. CCX.

DISPUTES upon the CEREMONIES of the
CHINESE.

IT was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds, that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute however was not productive of any great disturbances; but it served more than any other to characterise that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit, which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci the Jesuit, had been one of the first missionaries to China at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are almost the same in philosophy and literature, that we were two hundred years ago. The veneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. A progress in the sciences is the work of time and a daring genius: but morality and policy being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection amongst them before the other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued above two thousand years within the same limits they had at first attained, have continued but middling proficient in the sciences; and are the first people in the world in morals and policy, as well as the most ancient.

After

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire ; and by the help of the European sciences, they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity amongst the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, whilst they preached up Christianity. This was a delicate point, as well as the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquility of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and at the same time the most sacred of all rights, the respect of children to their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Con-fut-zee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue five hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles on a particular day to do honour to their ancestors ; and the learned meet publicly to honour Con-fut-zee. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and perfumes. The colaoes, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Con-fut-zee is honoured, and afterwards feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Con-fut-zee for deities? or are they

even invoked as our saints? Is this in short a political custom, which some of the more superstitious Chinese abuse? These were questions that could not easily be cleared up in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the Inquisition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which in their opinion could not be forbidden, without for ever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. The inquisition in 1656 permitted that the literati should continue to revere Con-fut-zee, and the Chinese children to honour their ancestors: but protested at the same time against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries always divided, and the cause soliciting at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them at length to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe, that this despotic monarch, grandson to the conqueror of China, was nevertheless subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christi-

Christianity, and was obliged to solicit one of the tribunals upon that head; and that he himself drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1672, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries, which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a priest named Maigrot, out of this house, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, thus become a bishop in China, began with not only declaring the rites performed for the dead superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned men of that nation atheists: so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother missionaries, than against the mandarins and the people. They represented to the court of Rome, that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men, that they admitted only matter; but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Con-fut-zee. One of these charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners to reconcile this seeming contradiction. This affair remained a long time before the court of Rome; and in the mean

mean while the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father le Comte, one of their most learned missionaries, had expressed himself thus in his memoirs of China: "This people have had amongst them for two thousand years a knowledge of the true God; and sacrificed to the Creator of the universe in the most ancient temple of the world; China practised the purest lessons of morality, when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

We have already seen that this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of thirty-six calculated eclipses, even beyond the æra in which we place the deluge. The learned men of that nation have never had any other religion than that which consists in the adoration of a supreme being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the laws of Moses; nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, was plunged in the most barbarous idolatry, when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, whom they always worshipped in the same simple manner, without the least variation. These evident truths were more than sufficient to justify the expressions made use of by father le Comte; but as there was somewhat in these assertions which seemed to strike against the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

The

The abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared (in 1700) this encomium on the Chinese a direct blasphemy. This abbé was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote the most serious and bold things in a humorous stile. He was author of a book entitled *Flagellantes*, and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, for fear of being censured by the bishops. His brother said of him, "That if he had not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy." He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying, "That the encomiums on that people had shook his Christian brain." The brains of the rest of that assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A reverend doctor, named *Le Sage*, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitution, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed that about the ceremonies; and at length pope Clement XI. the year after sent a legate to China. The person he made choice of on the occasion was Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Cambi

at

at first received the patriarch de Tournon with great civility; But how great was his surprise when he understood by the legate's interpreters, that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute of which the court of Pekin had never till then heard the least mention. The legate gave his majesty to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese majesty and all the learned men of his kingdom to be atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him an hearing. The monarch found his surprise encrease when he was informed that he had bishops in his empire; and the reader will be not less so, when he finds this prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words *King-tien*, which the emperor had written in his pocket-book, did not signify *adore the Lord of Heaven*. The emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the precise meaning of these words, and even condescended to enter into a long argument, in
which

which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The bishop however remained inflexible ; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than him. The emperor, who by the laws of the country, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him ; and passed an ordinance, that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire, should for the future be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for de Tournon, the legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nantkin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbidding the using that expression which the emperor used to signify *the God of heaven*.

The legate upon this was banished to Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a governor there. Whilst he was in his confinement here, the pope sent him a hat ; but this only served to make him die a cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the court, who began to study the Europeans more nearly than heretofore, discovered, that not only the missionaries were thus divided, but that likewise among the traders who came from Canton, there

there were several sects, sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Camhi did not cool towards the Jesuits, but greatly towards Christianity. His successor drove out all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was partly the effect of those disputes and that insolence, with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and his magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honoured their ancestors.

These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others, arising from a mixture of idleness and restlessness, are now utterly forgotten; people are surprised that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, bids fair to secure the public tranquillity.



C H A P. CCXI.

A RECAPITULATION of the whole of the FOREGOING HISTORY, with the POINT of LIGHT in which it ought to be considered.

I HAVE now gone thro' the immense scene of revolutions, that the world has experienced since the time of Charlemagne: and to what have they all tended? to desolation, and the loss of millions of lives! Every great event has been a capital misfortune. History has kept no account of times of peace and tranquillity; it relates only ravages and disasters.

We

We have beheld our Europe overspread with barbarians after the fall of the Roman empire ; and these barbarians, when become Christians, continually at war with the Mahometans, or else destroying each other.

We have seen Italy desolated by perpetual wars between city and city ; the Guelphs and Gibellines mutually destroying each other ; whole ages of conspiracies, and successive irruptions of distant nations, who have passed the Alps, and driven each other from their settlements by turns, till at length, in all this beautiful and extensive country, there remained only two states of any consideration governed by their own natives, *viz.* Venice and Rome. The others, namely Naples, Sicily, Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, are under the dominion of foreigners.

The other great states of Christendom have all of them suffered equally by wars, and intestine commotions ; but none of them have been brought under subjection thereby to a neighbouring power. The result of these endless disturbances and perpetual jars has been only the separating of some small provinces from one state, to be transferred to another. Flanders, for example, which was the ancient peerdom of France, passed to the house of Burgundy from foreign hands, and from this house to that of Austria ; and a small part of this Flanders came again into the hands of the French in the reign of Lewis XIV. Several provinces of Ancient Gaul were in former times dismembered. Alsace, which was a part of Ancient Gaul, came afterwards to belong to Germany, and is at this day a province of France. Upper Navarre,

which should be a demesne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, belongs to the younger; and Rouffillon, which was formerly the Spaniard's, now belongs to the crown of France.

During all these shocks, there have been formed since the time of Charlemagne only two absolutely independent republics, namely that of Switzerland and that of Holland.

No one great kingdom has been able to subdue another. France, notwithstanding the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V. notwithstanding the victories and efforts of Charles V. and Philip II. has still preserved its limits, and even extended them; Spain, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, and the northern states, are nearly the same as they were formerly.

What then have been the fruits of the blood of so many millions of men, spilt in battle, and the sacking of so many cities? Nothing great or considerable. The Christian powers have lost a great deal to the Turks, within these five centuries, and have gained scarcely any thing from each other.

All history then, in short, is little else than a long succession of useless cruelties; and if there happens any great revolution, it will bury the remembrance of all the past disputes, wars, and fraudulent treaties, which have produced so many transitory miseries.

In the number of these miseries we may with justice include the disturbances and civil wars on the score of religion. Of these Europe has experienced two kinds, and it is hard to say which of them has proved most fatal to her. The first, as we have already seen, was the

was the dispute of the popes with the emperors and kings: this began in the time of Lewis the Feeble, and was not entirely at an end, in Germany, till after the reign of Charles V. in England, till suppressed by the resolution of queen Elizabeth, and in France, till the submission of Henry IV. The other source of so much bloodshed, was the rage of dogmatizing. This has caused the subversion of more than one state, from the time of the massacre of the Albigenes, to the thirteenth century, and from the small war of the Cevennois, to the beginning of the eighteenth. The field and the scaffold ran with blood on account of theological arguments, sometimes in one century, sometimes in another, for almost five hundred years, without interruption; and the long continuance of this dreadful scourge was owing to this, that morality was always neglected, to indulge a spirit of dogmatizing.

It must therefore once again be acknowledged, that history in general is a collection of crimes, follies, and misfortunes, among which we have now and then met with a few virtues, and some happy times; as we sometimes see a few scattered huts in a barren desert.

In those times of darkness and ignorance, which we distinguish by the name of the middle age, no one perhaps ever deserved so well of mankind as pope Alexander VIII. It was he who abolished vassalage, in a council which he held in the twelfth century. It was this same pontiff who triumphed in Venice by his prudence, over the brutal violence of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and who obliged Henry II. of England to ask pardon of God and man

for the murder of Thomas Becket*. He restored the rights of the people, and chastised the wickedness of crowned heads. We have had occasion to remark, that, before this æra, all Europe, a very small number of cities excepted, was divided between two ranks of people; the lords, or owners of lands, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the villains, or slaves. The lawyers who assisted the knights, bailiffs, and stewards of fiefs, in giving their sentences, were in fact no other than bondmen, or villains, themselves. And, if mankind at length enjoy their rights, it is to pope Alexander VIII. they are chiefly indebted for this happy change. It is to him that so many cities owe their present splendour; nevertheless, we know that this liberty was not universally extended. It has never made its way into Poland; the husbandman there is still a slave, and confined to the glebe; it is the same in Bohemia, Suabia, and several other countries of Germany; and even in France, in some of the provinces the most remote from the capital, we still see remains of this slavery. There are some chapters and monks, who claim a right to all the goods of the peasants.

In Asia, on the contrary, there are no slaves

* That is to say, he obliged a great prince to do shameful penance, for a murder in which he had no concern; and by what means did he manifest this power? by employing all the villainous arts of priestcraft, to alienate the affections of the people from their natural sovereign; by excommunications, interdictions, and absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance. As for Becket, whom Alexander allowed to be canonized, we hope there are not three Britons, now living, who do not detest his character, as that of a pernicious five-brand, whose pride, insolence, and fanaticism kept his sovereign and his country in continual disgust.

but those which are purchased with money, or taken prisoners in battle. In the Christian states of Europe, they do not buy slaves, neither do they reduce their prisoners of war to a state of servitude. The Asiatics have only a domestic servitude; Christians only a civil one. The peasant in Poland is a bondman in the lands, but not in the house of his lord. We purchase household-slaves only from the negroes; we are severely reproached for this kind of traffic, but the people who make a trade of selling their children, are certainly more blameable than those who purchase them, and this traffic is only a proof of our superiority. He who voluntarily subjects himself to a master, is designed by nature for a slave*.

We have seen that, from time immemorial, they have tolerated all religions in Asia, much in the same manner as it is at present done in England, Holland, and Germany. We have observed, that this toleration was more general in Japan than in any other country whatever, till the fatal affair which rendered that government so inexorable.

We may have observed, in the course of so many revolutions, that several nations, almost entirely savage, have been formed both in Europe and Asia, in those very countries which were formerly the most civilized. Thus, some of the islands of the Archipelago, which were once so flourishing, are now little better than Indian habitations in America. The country

* We apprehend that all the effects of all the people in France, or of any other arbitrary government, properly speaking, belong to the crown; inasmuch as the sovereign can seize them at his pleasure.

where formerly were the cities of Artaxates, Tigranocertes, and Colchos, are not now of half the value of some of our petty colonies. There are in some of the islands, forests, and mountains in the very heart of Europe, a set of people, who are in nothing superior to those of Canada, or the negroes of Africa. The Turks are more civilized, but we hardly know of one city built by them; they have suffered the most noble and beautiful monuments of antiquity to fall to decay, and reign only over a pile of ruins.

They have nothing in Asia that in the least resembles our European nobility; nor is there to be found throughout the whole East any one order of citizens, distinguished from the others by hereditary titles, or particular privileges and indulgencies, annexed solely to birth. The Tartars seem to be the only people who have some faint shadow of this institution, in the race of their Mirzas. We meet with nothing either in Turkey, Persia, the Indies, or China, that bears any similitude to that body of nobility which forms an essential part of every European monarchy. We must go as far as Malabar to meet with any likeness to this sort of constitution; and there again it is very different, and consists in a tribe wholly dedicated to bearing arms, and which never intermixes, by marriage or otherwise, with any of the other tribes or casts, and will not even condescend to hold any commerce with them.

The greatest difference between us and the Orientals, is in the manner of treating our women. No female ever reigned in the East, unless that princess of Mingrelia, whom Sir John Chardin tell us of in his voyages, and whom he

accuses of robbing him. In France, tho' the women cannot wear the crown, they may be regents of the kingdom, and have a right to every other throne, but that of the empire and Poland.

Another difference, in our manner of treating women, is the custom of placing about their persons men deprived of their virility, a custom which has always prevailed in Asia and Africa, and has at times been introduced into Europe by the Roman emperors. At present there is not throughout all Christendom two hundred eunuchs employed, either in our churches or theatres, whereas all the eastern seraglios swarm with them.

In short, we differ in every respect, in religion, policy, government, manners, food, cloathing, and even in our manners of writing, expressing, and thinking. That in which we the most resemble them is, that propensity to war, slaughter, and destruction, which has always depopulated the face of the earth. It must be owned, however, that this rage has taken much less possession of the minds of the people of India and China, than of ours. In particular, we have no instance of the Indians or Chinese having made war upon the inhabitants of the North. In this respect they are much better members of society than ourselves; but then, on the other hand, this very virtue, or rather meekness, of theirs, has been their ruin; for they have been all enslaved.

In the midst of the ravages and desolations which we have observed during the space of nine hundred years, we perceive a love for order which secretly animates human kind, and has prevented its total ruin. This is one of

the springs of nature which always recovers its tone ; it is this which has formed the code of all nations, and this inspires a veneration for the laws and the ministers of the laws at Tonquin, and in the island of Formosa, the same as at Rome. Children respect their parents in all countries, and in every country (let others say what they will) the son is his father's heir ; for, though in Turkey the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity, nor, in India, the son of an Omra his lands ; the reason is, because neither the one nor the other belong to the father himself. A place for life is, in no country of the world, considered as an inheritance ; but, in Persia, in India, and throughout all Asia, every native, and even every stranger, of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In our Europe, indeed, there are still some nations, where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field or burying-place in their territories. The barbarous right of Aubaine, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still subsists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

We likewise have a notion, that in the eastern countries the women are all slaves, because they are confined to the duties of domestic life. If they were really slaves, they must become beggars at the death of their husbands, which is not the case ; the law every where provides a stated portion for them, and this portion they obtain in case of a divorce. In every part of the world, we find laws established for the support of families.

In all nations there is a proper curb to arbitrary power, either by law, custom, or manners. The Turkish sultan can neither touch the public treasure, break the Janissaries, nor interfere with the inside of the seraglios of any of his subjects. The emperor of China cannot publish a single edict, without the sanction of a tribunal. Every state is at times liable to violent oppressions; the grand vizirs and the Itimadoulets exercise rapine and murder, it is true, but they are no more authorised so to do by the laws, than the wild Arabs, or wandering Tatars, are to plunder the caravans.

Religion teaches the same principles of morality to all nations, without exception; the ceremonies of the Asiatics are ridiculous, their belief absurd, but their precepts are just; the dervise, the faquir, the bonze, and the talopin, are always crying out, "Be just and beneficent." The common people in China are accused of being great cheats in trade; they are perhaps encouraged to this vice, by knowing that they can purchase absolution for their crime of their bonzes, for a trifling piece of money. The moral precepts taught them are good, the indulgence which is sold them is bad.

We are not to credit those travellers and missionaries, who have represented the eastern priests to us as persons who preach up iniquity; this is traducing human nature, it is not possible that there should ever exist a religious society, instituted for the encouragement or propagation of vice.

We should equally deceive ourselves, were we to believe, that the Mahometan religion owes its establishment wholly to the sword.

The Mahometans have had their missionaries in the Indies, and at China; and the sects of Omar and Ali dispute with each other for profelytes, even on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

From all that we have observed in this sketch of universal history, it follows, that whatever concerns human nature, is the same from one end of the universe to the other, and that what is dependant upon custom differs, or, if there is any resemblance, it is the effect of chance. The dominion of custom is much more extensive than that of nature, and influences all manners and all usages. It diffuses variety over the face of the universe. Nature establishes unity, and every where settles a few invariable principles: the soil is still the same, but culture produces various fruits.

As nature has placed in the heart of man, interest, pride, and all the passions, it is no wonder, that, during a period of about six centuries, we meet with almost a continual succession of crimes and disasters. If we go back to earlier ages, we shall find them no better. Custom has ordered it so, that evil has every where operated in a different manner.



C H A P. CCXII.

Of the POLITE ARTS in EUROPE, at the
Time of LEWIS XIV.

I HAVE sufficiently hinted, in the course of this history, that the public disasters it contains, and which succeed each other almost without intermission, are at length erased from

the registers of time. The springs, and minuter circumstances of politicks, sink into oblivion; whilst wise laws and institutions, the monuments produced by the arts and sciences, continue for ever.

Of the immense crowd of strangers that now travel to Rome, not as pilgrims, but as persons of taste, hardly one is at the pains to enquire any thing concerning Gregory VII. or Boniface VIII. they admire the beautiful churches built by a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo, the paintings of a Raphael, and the sculptures of a Bernini; if they have genius, they read the works of Ariosto and Tasso, and reverence the ashes of Galileo. In England the exploits of Cromwell are scarcely mentioned, and the disputes of the white and red roses are almost forgotten; but Newton is studied for whole years together: no one is surpris'd to see in his epitaph, "That he was the glory of mankind;" but it would be matter of great wonder in that country, to see the remains of any statesman honoured with such a title.

I should be glad, in this place, to do justice to all the great men, who, like him, were the ornaments of their country in the last century. I have called this the Age of Lewis XIV. not only because this monarch patronized the arts much more than all the other kings, his contemporaries, put together, but also, because he saw all the generations of the princes of Europe thrice renewed. I have fixed this epoch some years before the time of Lewis XIV. and have carried it down some years after his decease, as this was in fact the space of time in which the human mind made the greatest progress.

The English have made greater advances towards perfection, in almost every species of learning, from 1660 to the present time, than in all the preceding ages. I shall not here repeat what I have elsewhere said, of Milton. It is true, he is accused by several critics of a whimsical extravagance in his descriptions, such as that of the fools paradise; the walls of alabaster with which the garden of Eden was surrounded; the devils, who transformed themselves from giants to pigmies, to take up less room in the council-chamber of hell, built all of pure gold; the firing of cannon in heaven; the hills that the combatants flung at each other's heads; angels on horseback, and angels whose bodies, after being cut asunder, unite again. He is complained of for his prolixity and incessant repetitions. They say he neither equals Ovid nor Hesiod, in that long description of the formation of the earth, animals, and man. His dissertations on astronomy are censured, as being too dry and uninteresting; his invention thought rather extravagant than wonderful, and more disgustful than striking; for instance, the long causeway over chaos; sin and death enamoured of each other, and having children by their incestuous commerce; "Death, who lifts up his nose, to snuff, through the immensity of chaos, the change which has beset the earth, as a raven smells dead carcases." The same Death who smells out sin, who strikes with his petrifying club on the elements of Earth and Water, who, together with Heat and Humidity, becoming four valiant generals of an army, leading in battle-array the light-armed embryos of atoms. In short, writers have exhausted themselves in criticisms on this celebrated work; but

there can be no end to the praises it merits. Milton will ever continue the boast and admiration of the English nation, will always be compared to Homer, whose faults are equally great, and always preferred to Dante, whose imagination is even more extravagant.

Among the great number of pleasing poets that adorned the reign of Charles II. such as Waller, the earls of Dorset and Roscommon, the duke of Buckingham, &c. the celebrated Dryden holds a distinguished place: he is equally famous in all the different species of poetry. His writings abound with a number of minute particulars, at once natural and lively, animated, bold, nervous, and pathetic; a merit in which he has been equalled by no other poet of his nation, nor exceeded by any one among the ancients. If Pope, who came after him, had not, in the latter part of his life, written his Essay on Man, he would have fallen far short of Dryden.

No nation has ever treated morality, in verse, with so much energy and depth, as the English. In this I think seems to lie the greatest merit of their poets.

There is another kind of varied literature, which requires a still more cultivated and universal genius; this Addison possessed in an eminent degree. He has not only immortalized his name by his Cato, which is the only English tragedy written with elegance and well supported dignity, but his other writings, both moral and critical, breathe the very soul of good taste; here sense is every where embellished with the flowers of imagination; and his manner of writing may serve as a model to all na-

tions. There are several little pieces of Dean Swift, unmatched by any thing of the kind in antiquity. He is Rabelais improved.

The English are not acquainted with funeral orations, it not being the custom with them to praise their kings and queens in their churches, but pulpit-eloquence, which, before the reign of Charles II. was very rude, became formed on a sudden. Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that this was owing to their imitation of the French; perhaps they have even surpassed their masters; they are not so stiff, affected, and declamatory in their sermons, as the French are.

It is also very remarkable that these islanders, who are separated from the rest of the world, and who remained so long untaught, should have acquired at least as much knowledge of antiquity as is to be met with at Rome, though the center of all nations. Masham has unveiled the dark accounts of ancient Egypt; no Persian had ever a more perfect knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster, than the celebrated Hyde. The history of Mahomet, and the times preceding him, which was unknown to the Turks, has been fully illustrated by Hales, who made so many useful voyages to Arabia.

There is no country in the world, where the Christian religion has been so strongly attacked, and so learnedly defended, as in England. From the time of Henry VIII. to that of Cromwell, they carried on their disputes like the antient gladiators, who were wont to come into the arena to fight, with a scymetar in their hand, and a bandage about their eyes. Some slight differences in doctrine and worship, were productive of the most bloody wars; whereas, since the restoration to the present time, tho'

scarce a year has passed without some attack upon Christianity, the controversy has not excited the least disturbance; learning being the only weapon now employed on either side, instead of fire and sword, as formerly.

But, it is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the mastery over all other nations. Ingenious and speculative notions were out of the question. The fables of the Greeks had been long laid aside, and those of the moderns were to appear no more. Chancellor Bacon first led the way, by asserting that we should search into nature in a new manner, and have recourse to experiments. Boyle employed his whole life in making them. This is no place for discussions on natural philosophy; let it suffice to say, that, after three thousand years of vain enquiries, Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of nature, by which every part of matter tends towards the center, and all the planets are retained in their proper course. He was the first who truly beheld light; before him we knew not what it was.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy, entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of what is called the Calculation of Infinites, the last effect of geometry, and which was executed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned that great philosopher, the learned Halley, to say, "That it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were at once improved by his discoveries, and encouraged to pursue the tract he had pointed out to them. Bradley at length

went so far as to discover the parallax of the fixed stars, at twelve millions of millions of miles distant from our little globe.

The same Halley whom I have just mentioned, though no more than a private astronomer, had the command of one of the king's ships in the year 1698. In this ship he determined the position of the stars of the Antarctic, or South Pole, and marked the different variations of the compass in all the parts of the known world. The famous voyage of the Argonauts was, in comparison with his, no more than the passing from one side of a river to another in a boat; and yet this voyage of Halley's has scarcely been spoken of in Europe.

This indifference of ours for great things, when become too familiar, and the admiration paid by the ancient Greeks to the most trivial ones, is another proof of the prodigious superiority of our age over the ancient times. Boileau in France, and Sir William Temple in England, obstinately deny any such superiority; they seem resolved to depreciate their own age, in order to exalt themselves above it. This dispute between the ancients and moderns is at length decided, at least as to philosophy. There is not one of the ancient philosophers, whose works are now made use of for the instruction of youth, in any of the enlightened nations.

Locke alone might serve as a great instance of the advantage that the present time has over the finest ages of Greece. From Plato, down to him, there is one great chasm, no one during all that interval having explained the operations of the soul; and a person who should be acquainted with all that Plato has wrote, and ac-
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quainted only with that, would have very little knowlege, and even that erroneous.

The Greek was indeed an eloquent writer; his apology for Socrates is a great piece of service done to the learned of all nations. It is but just to hold him in veneration, who made oppressed virtue so venerable, and its persecutors so detestable. It was for a long time thought that he, who was so fine a moralist, could not be a bad natural philosopher; he was held almost for a father of the church, on account of his Ternarion, which no one understood; but what would be thought of a philosopher in our days, who should tell us that matter is the author; and that the world is a figure of twelve pentagons? that fire is a pyramid, and is linked to the earth by numbers? How would a person be received, who should go about to prove the immortality and metempsychosis of the soul, by saying, that sleep comes from watching, watching from sleep, life from death, and death from life? Yet such are the arguments that have been the admiration of so many ages, and ideas still more extravagant have since continued to be made use of, in the education of mankind.

Locke is the only one who has explained Human Understanding, in a book where there are nothing but truths; and what renders the work perfect is, that these truths are all clear.

If we would, once for all, see in what this last age has the superiority over the former ones, we have only to cast our eyes upon Germany, and the North: Dantzick has produced an Hevelius, who is the first astronomer that was ever well acquainted with the planet of the moon, no man before him having ever so carefully examined the heavens; among the many great

men whom this age has produced, no one is a more striking example how justly it may be called the age of Lewis XIV. Hevelius lost an immense library by fire. The French monarch recompensed the astronomer, with a present that far overpaid his loss.

In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry. The Bernouilli of Switzerland, were disciples worthy this great man, and Leibnitz was for some time considered as his rival.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipstick : he ended his days in Hanover, like a true philosopher, believing in a God, like Newton, without consulting the various opinions of mankind. He was perhaps a man of the most universal learning in Europe ; he was an historian indefatigable in his enquiries ; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy, foreign as it may appear to that kind of study ; so thorough a metaphysician, as to attempt reconciling divinity and the metaphysics ; a tolerable Latin poet ; and lastly, so good a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the calculation of infinites, and to make it for some time doubted, which of them had the justest claim to the honour of that discovery.

This was then the golden age of geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other, that is to say, problems to solve, much in the same manner as it is said the ancient kings of Egypt and Asia, sent ænigmas to be answered by one another. The problems proposed by these geometricians were of a much more difficult nature than the Egyptian ænigmas, and yet none of them remained unan-

swered, either in Germany, England, Italy, or France. There never was a more universal correspondence kept between philosophers than at this period, and Leibnitz contributed not a little to encourage it. A republic of letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of the most obstinate war, and the number of different religions; the arts and sciences, all of them thus received mutual assistance from each other, and the academies helped to form this republic. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and the natives of England, Germany, and France, went to study at Leyden. The famous physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the pope and the czar of Muscovy. His principal pupils have in like manner drawn strangers after them, and are in some measure become the physicians of nations. The truly learned of every denomination have strengthened the bands of this grand society of geniuses, which is universally diffused, and every where independent. This correspondence is still carried on, and proves one of the greatest comforts against the evils which ambition and politics scatter through the world.

Italy has preserved her ancient glory in this age, though she has produced no new Tassos nor Raphaels. It is sufficient that she has once produced them. A Cabrera, a Zappi, and a Filicaia, have shewn that delicacy is always the portion of this nation. The Merope of Maffei, and the dramatic works of Metastasio, are the beautiful monuments of the age.

The study of true natural philosophy, as established by Galileo, still keeps its ground in spite of the ancient philosophy, which has but too

too many bigotted admirers. The Cassinis, the Vivianis, the Mandis, the Bianchinis, the Zannottis, and many others, have spread over Italy the same light which beamed in other countries, and, though its principal rays came from England, yet the Italian schools have been able to gaze on it in all its splendour.

Every kind of literature has been cultivated in this ancient seat of the arts as much as elsewhere, except in those subjects where a liberty of thinking allows a greater scope to the genius in other nations. This age in particular has attained a better knowledge of antiquity than the preceding. Italy furnishes more monuments than all Europe together, and in proportion as these have been brought to light, science has become more extensive.

We are indebted for this progress to some wise men and geniuses, scattered in a small number over some parts of Europe, almost all of them for a long time subjected to persecutions, and lost in oblivion; they have enlightened and comforted the world during the wars that spread desolation through it. There are lists to be met with elsewhere, of all those who have been the ornaments of Germany, England, and Italy. It would be very improper, in a stranger, to pretend to rate the merits of so many illustrious men; let it suffice then to have shewn, that in the last age mankind acquired throughout Europe greater lights, than in all the ages that preceded it.

C H A P. CCXIII.

A List of the Children of LEWIS XIV. The SOVEREIGN PRINCES cotemporary with him. His GENERALS and MINISTERS.

The Children of Lewis XIV.

HE married Maria Theresa of Austria, born in 1638, only daughter to Philip IV. by his first queen Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second wife Maria Anne of Austria. The nuptials of Lewis XIV. were celebrated the ninth day of July 1660, and Maria Theresa died in 1683. He had by her,

Lewis the dauphin called Monseigneur, born Nov. 1, 1661, who died at Meudon April 14, 1711. Nothing was more common for a considerable time before the death of this prince than the following proverb which was applied to him: "The son of a king, the father of a king, and never king." The event seemed to countenance the credulity of those who place faith in predictions; but this saying was only a repetition of that which went about concerning Philip of Valois, and was moreover founded chiefly on Lewis XIV's own state of health, who was much more robust than his son. This prince had by Mary-Anne-Christiana-Victoria of Bavaria, who died the 20th of April, 1690.

1. Lewis Duke of Burgundy, who was born August 6, 1682, and died Feb. 18, 1712. He had issue by his dutchess, Maria Adelaide of Savoy, who died Feb. 12, 1712, N. duke of
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Brittany, who died in 1705; Lewis duke of Brittany, who died in 1712; and Lewis XV. who was born Feb. 15, 1710.

2. Philip, duke of Anjou, king of Spain, born Dec. 19, 1683, died July 9, 1746.

3. Charles, duke of Berry, born Aug. 31, 1686, died May 4, 1714.

Lewis XIV. had two other sons and three daughters, who all died young.

His natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis XIV. had by the dutchess of la Valliere, who turned carmelite nun June 2, 1674, took the habit June 4, 1675, and died June 6, 1710, aged 65.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, born Oct. 2, 1667, died in 1683.

Mary-Anne, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, was married to Armand prince of Conti, and died in 1739.

Other natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, duke of Main, born March 31, 1670, died in 1736.

Lewis-Cæsar, count of Vexin, abbot of St. Dennis and St. Germain des Prés, born in 1672, died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, count of Toulouse, born June 6, 1678, died in 1737.

Louisa-Frances of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, was married to Lewis-III. duke of Bourbon-Condé, and died in 1743.

Louisa-Maria of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Tours, died in 1681.

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Frances-Mary, 'of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1677, was married to Philip II. duke of Orleans, regent of France, died in 1749.

Two other sons who both died young.

Cotemporary Princes.

P O P E S.

Barberini Urban VIII. died in 1644

It was he who first gave the title of *eminence* to the cardinals.

Pamfilo Innocent X.	1655
Chigi Alexander VII.	1667
Rospigliosi Clement IX.	1669
Altieri Clement X.	1676
Odescalchi Innocent XI.	1689
Ottoboni Alexander VIII.	1691
Pignatelli Innocent XII.	1700
Albani Clement XI.	1721

The Ottoman House.

Ibrahim died in	1655
Mahomet IV.	1687
Soliman III.	1691
Achmet II.	1695
Mustapha II.	1703
Achmet III. deposed in	1730

Emperors of Germany.

Ferdinand III. died in	1657
Leopold I.	1705
Joseph I.	1711
Charles VI.	1740

Kings

Kings of Spain.

Philip IV. died in	1665
Charles II.	1700
Philip V.	1746

Kings of Portugal.

John IV. duke of Braganza, died in	1656
Alphonso-Henry, dethroned in 1667	1683
Peter II.	1706
John V.	1750

Kings of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Charles I. beheaded in	1649
Charles II. died in	1685
James II. dethroned in 1688	1701
William III.	1702
Anne Stuart	1714
George I.	1727

Kings of Denmark.

Christian IV. died in	1648
Frederick III.	1670
Christian V.	1699
Frederick IV.	1730

Kings of Sweden.

Christina abdicated in 1654, died in	1689
Charles-Gustavus	1660
Charles XI.	1697
Charles XII.	1718

Kings

Kings of Poland.

Ladislaus Sigismund died in	1648
John Casimir abdicated	1667
Michael Wiefnowiski died in	1673
John Sobieski	1696
Frederick-Augustus, elector of Saxony	1733
Stanislaus	

Kings of Prussia.

Frederick I. died in	1713
Frederick-William	1740

Czars.

Michael-Foederowitz died in	1645
Alexis-Michaelowitz	1676
Foedor-Alexiowitz	1682
{ Iwan-Alexiowitz	1688
{ Peter-Alexiowitz.	1725

- *Marshals of France, who either died in the reign of Lewis XIV. or served under him.*

D' Albret (Cœsar-Phæbus) of the royal house of Navarre, made marshal of France in 1653: notwithstanding his high descent, he made no scruple to marry the daughter of Guénegaud, the king's treasurer, a young lady of great merit. He died in 1676.

D' Alegre (Yves) who served in the armies of Lewis XIV. near sixty years before he was made marshal of France in 1724. He died in 1733.

D' Asfeldt (Claud-Francis-Bidal). He acquired great reputation in the art of attacking and de-

defending places. He was made marshal of France in 1734.

D'Aubusson (Francis de la Feuillade), made marshal in 1675, the same who out of gratitude erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the Square des Victoires. He died in 1691. His son was not made marshal till a long time after his death, viz. in 1725.

D'Aumont (Anthony), grandson to the famous John Marshal d'Aumont, one of Henry IV's great generals. Anthony was greatly instrumental in gaining the battle of Rhetel in 1650. He had the marshal's staff given him as a reward. He died in 1669.

De Balincourt, made marshal in 1746.

Berwick (James Fitz-James duke of), natural son to James II. king of England, by a sister of the duke of Marlborough. He was created duke of Berwick in England by his father. He was likewise a duke of Spain and of France: he was made marshal in 1706, and was killed at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734.

Bassompierre (Francis de) born in 1579, a man well known in the world; but few people know that he caused the ditch in the queen's course to be lined with stone at his own expence. He was made marshal in 1622, and died in 1646.

Bellefonds (*Bernardine, Gigaul de*), made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

De Belle-Isle (Lewis Charles Augustus de Fouquet) distinguished himself in the war of 1710, is a duke and peer of France, and a prince of the empire, made marshal in 1741.

Bezons (James Bazin de) made marshal in 1709, died in 1733.

Biron. (Armand Charles de Goutaut, duke of) He revived the ducal dignity in his house. Though he served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and lost an arm at the siege of Landau, he was not made marshal till the year 1734.

Boufflers (Lewis Francis duke of) made marshal in 1693, died in 1711.

Du Bourg, (Eleonor Maria du Mainé, count) gained an important battle under Lewis XIV. but was not made marshal till 1725, and died the same year.

Villars, (Henry de Villars de Sérest) after having served Lewis XIV. for a great number of years, was at length made marshal in 1734.

Brezé, (Urban de Maillé, marquis of) brother-in-law to cardinal Richelieu, was made marshal in 1632, afterwards viceroy of Catalonia, and died in 1650.

Broglio (Victor Mauritius) served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and was at length made marshal in 1724, died in 1727.

Broglio (Francis-Mary, duke of) son to the former, one of the best lieutenant-generals in the wars of Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734.

Castellau (James de) made marshal in 1658, mortally wounded the same year at the siege of Calais.

Catinat (Nicholas de) made marshal in 1693. He blended the talents of the philosopher with those of the soldier. In the last battle in which he commanded, he gave for the word, Paris and St. Gassian, which latter was the name of his country seat, whither he retired

and died like a philosopher, (after having refused the blue ribbon,) in 1712.

Chamilli. (Noël Bouton de) He was present at the siege of Candia, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1715.

Chateau-Renaud (Francis-Lewis Rousselet de) vice-admiral of France, a great sea-officer, was made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Chaulnes (Honorius d'Albre, duke of) made marshal in 1620, died in 1649.

Choiseul (Claude de) the third marshal of France of that name, received the staff in 1698, died in 1711.

Clairambault (Philip Palluau de) made marshal in 1653, died in 1665.

De Clermont-Tonnerre served in the war of 1701, but was not made marshal till 1747.

Coigni (Francis de Franquelot) was a long time a general officer under Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734. He gained two battles in Italy.

Coligni, (Gaspard de) grandson to the admiral of that name. He was made marshal in 1622, and was killed at the head of the rebel army, under the count de Soissons, at Marfée, in 1646.

Crequi (Francis de) made marshal in 1668. He had the reputation of being the most proper officer to succeed marshal Turenne. He died in 1687.

D'Estampes (James de la Ferté-Imbaut) made marshal in 1651, died in 1668.

D'Etrées (Francis Hannibal, duke) made marshal in 1626. It is very remarkable that at the age of ninety-three he was married to his second wife, Mademoiselle de Manican, who miscarried
by

by him. He died in 1670, aged upwards of an hundred.

D'Etrées (John) made vice-admiral of France in 1670, and marshal in 1681. He died in 1707.

D'Etrées (Victor-Maria) son to John D'Etrées, was like his father vice-admiral of France before he was marshal. It is remarkable that he commanded in this quality the combined fleets of France and Spain in 1701, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1707.

Duras (James Henry de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, was made marshal in 1675, immediately after the death of his uncle, died in 1704.

Duras (John de Durfort, duke of) made field marshal by Lewis XIV. and marshal of France in 1741.

Fabert (Abraham) made marshal in 1658. People have been determined to ascribe his fortunes and death to supernatural causes; whereas there was nothing extraordinary in him but that he made his fortune entirely by his own merit, and that he refused the ribbon of the order; notwithstanding that they would have dispensed with his giving the requisite proofs: he died in 1662.

Fare (de la) son to the marquis de la Fare, so famous for his pleasing poetical writings. He was an officer in 1701, and marshal in 1746.

Ferté-Steucterre (Henry, duke of la) made marshal in 1651, died in 1681.

Force (James Nompars de Caumont de la) made marshal 1622. The same who escaped the great massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who has given an account of that affair in his me-

moirs, which are still preserved in the family. He died in 1652, at the age of 97.

Foucault (Lewis) count of Daugnon, made marshal in 1653, died in 1659.

Gassion (John de) was bred up under the great Gustavus, made marshal in 1643. He was a Calvinist by religion. He would never marry, saying, that he set too little value upon life to share it with any one. He was killed at the siege of Lens in 1647.

Gramont (Anthony de) made marshal in 1641, died in 1678.

Gramont (Anthony de) grandson to the former, made marshal in 1724. He was father to the duke of Gramont, who was killed at the battle of Fontenoi. He died in 1725.

Grancei (James Rouxel, count of) made marshal in 1651, died in 1680.

Guebriant (John-Baptist de Budes) made marshal in 1642, one of the most famous soldiers of his time. He was killed in 1643, at the siege of Rotweil, and interred with great funeral pomp in the church of Nôtre-Dame.

Harcourt (Henry, duke of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1718. His son has since been made a marshal in 1746.

Hocquincourt (Charles de Mouchi) made marshal in 1651, was killed in the service of the enemy before Dunkirk in 1658.

Hopital (Nicholas de l') captain of the guards of Lewis XIII. made marshal in 1617 for killing marshal d'Ancre. But he was deserving of that dignity besides by many noble actions. We reckon him among the marshals of this age, because he died under the reign of Lewis XIV. in 1644.

Humieres (Lewis de Crevan, marquis of) made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

Foyense (John-Armand de) made marshal of France in 1693, died in 1710.

D'Esfengheim, an officer under Lewis XIV. made marshal in 1741.

Lorge, (Guy Alphonso de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, made marshal in 1676, died in 1702.

Luxembourg (Francis-Henry de Montmorenci, duke of) was bred up under the great Condé, made marshal in 1675. There have been seven marshals of France of this name, exclusive of constables; and there has not been a reign since the eleventh century without some person of this family at the head of the armies. He died in 1695.

Luxembourg (Christian-Lewis de Montmorenci) son to the former. He distinguished himself in the war of 1701, was made a marshal in 1747.

Maillebois, son to the minister of state Desmarêts, having distinguished himself on every occasion since the war of 1701, he was made marshal in 1741.

Marfin or *Marchin* (Ferdinand count of) having left the service of the house of Austria for that of France, he was made marshal in 1703, and died at Turin in 1706.

De Matignon (Charles-Augustus Goion de Gacé) made marshal in 1708, died in 1729.

Maulevrier-Langeron, made marshal, 1745.

Medavi (James Leonor Rouxel de Grancei, count of) was not made marshal till the year 1724, though he gained a complete victory in 1706. He died in 1725.

De la Meilleraie (Charles de la Porte) was made marshal in 1639, in the reign of Lewis XIII. who presented him with the marshal's staff, on the breach of the city of Hedin. He was grand-master of the ordnance; and had the character of being the best officer in France for the conduct of a siege. He died in 1664.

Montesquiou (Peter, count of Artagnan) made marshal in 1709, died in 1725.

Montrevel (Nicholas Augustus de la Baume) made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Mote-Houdancourt (Philip de la) made marshal in 1642, and confined in the castle of Pierre-en-Cese, in 1643. It is observable, that there was not one general during the administrations of Richelieu and Mazarin, but that were either banished or imprisoned. He died in 1657. His grandson was made a marshal in 1747.

Nangis, (Lewis Armand de Brichanteau.) He served with reputation under marshal Villars, in the war of 1701, and was made a marshal himself by Lewis XV.

Navailles (Philip de Montaud de Bénac, duke of) made marshal in 1675. Commanded at Candia, under the duke of Beaufort, and succeeded him at his death. He died in 1684.

Noailles (Anne Julius, duke of) made marshal in 1693. He signalized himself in Spain, where he gained the battle of Ter. He died in 1708.

Noailles (Adrian Maurice) son to the former, was made general and commander in chief in Roussillon in 1706, and grandee of Spain, after having taken Gironne. He was not made marshal of France till 1734. He had the direction

of the finances in 1715; and has since been minister of state.

Plessis-Pralin (Cæsar, duke of Choiseul, count of) made marshal in 1645. He had the honour of beating the viscount of Turenne, at Rhétel, in 1650. He died in 1675.

Puisegur (James de Chastenet de) made marshal in 1734, son to James Puisegur, lieutenant-general, under Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. who gained great reputation, and left a volume of memoirs. The marshal himself has written upon war. He was a person consulted by the ministry upon all critical occasions.

Richelieu (Lewis Francis Armand du Plessis, duke of,) a brigadier under Lewis XIV. general and commander in chief at Genoa, made marshal in 1748, took the island of Minorca from the English in 1756.

Rochefort (Henry Lewis, marquis of Alongni, and marquis of) made marshal in 1675; died in 1676.

Roquelaure (Anthony Gaston John Baptist, duke of) made marshal in 1724.

Rosen (Conrad de) general to James II. in Ireland, made marshal in 1703, died in 1715.

Saint-Luc (Timoleon d'Epinaï de) son to the valiant Saint-Luc, whose panegyric is to be found in Brantome. He was made marshal in 1628, died in 1644.

Schomberg (Frederick Armand) was bred up under Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, made marshal in 1675, duke of Mertola in Portugal, governor and generalissimo of Prussia, duke and general in England. He was a zealous protestant, and quitted France upon the

revocation of the edict of Nantz. He was killed at the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

Schulembourg (John de) count of Mondejeau, a native of Prussia, made marshal in 1658; died in 1671.

Tallard (Camillus d'Ostun, duke of). He concluded the two Treaties of Partition, was made marshal of France in 1703, minister of state in 1726, and died in 1728.

Tessé (René de Frouillai) made marshal in 1703, died in 1725.

Turenne (Henry de la Tour, viscount of) born in 1611, made marshal of France in 1644, field-marshal-general in 1660; died in 1675.

Vauban (Sebastian le Prêtre, marquis of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1707.

Villars (Lewis Claudio, duke of) who took the name of Hector, made marshal in 1702, president of the council of war in 1718, represented the constable of France at the coronation of Lewis XV. in 1722, and died in 1734.

Villeroi (Nicholas de Nieuville, duke of) governor to Lewis XIV. 1646; made marshal the same year, and died in 1685.

Villeroi (Francis de Nieuville, duke of) son to the former, governor to Lewis XV. made marshal in 1693. His father and himself were chiefs of the council of the finances; a title without office, but which gave them a right to a seat in the king's council. He died in 1730.

Vivonne (Lewis-Victor de Rochechouart, duke of) gonfalonier, or great standard-bearer to the church, general of the gallies, viceroy of Messina, and marshal of France in 1675. He is not reckoned the principal marshal of the navy,

as he served a considerable time by land. He died in 1683.

D'Uxelles (Nicholas Chalon du Blé, marquis) made marshal in 1703, and president of the council for foreign affairs in 1718. He died in 1730.

Great Admirals of France in the Reign of Lewis XIV.

Armand de Maillé, marquis of Brezé, made grand-master, chief, and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce, in France, in 1643; was killed at sea by a cannon-ball, June 14, 1646.

Anne of Austria, queen-regent of France, superintendant of the French seas in 1646, resigned in 1650.

Cæsar, duke of Vendome, and of Beaufort, made grand-master and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce in France in 1650.

Francis de Vendome, duke of Beaufort, son to Cæsar, was killed at the battle of Candy, June 25, 1679.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, legitimated son of France, made admiral in the month of August 1669, when only two years of age; died in 1683.

Lewis Alexander of Bourbon, legitimated son of France, count of Toulouse; made admiral in 1683, died in 1737.

Generals of the Gallies of France.

Armand, John du Pleffis, duke of Richelieu, peer of France, made in 1643, during the life-

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time of Francis his father, resigned this post in 1661, and was succeeded by

Francis, marquis of Crequy, who likewise resigned in 1669, a year after being named marshal of France.

Lewis Victor de Rochechouart, count and afterwards duke of Vivonne, prince of Tonnai-Charente; made in 1669.

Lewis de Rochechouart, duke of Mortemar, in reversion from his father, died April 3, 1688.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, legitimated son of France, prince of Dombes, duke of Maine and Aumale; made in 1688, resigned in 1694.

Lewis Joseph, duke of Vendome, made in 1694, died in 1712.

René, Sire de Frouillai, count of Tessé, made marshal of France in 1712, and resigned in 1716.

The chevalier D'Orleans, made in 1716, died in 1748. Since his death, this dignity has been united to the Admiralty.

Chancellors.

Charles de L'Aubepine, de Chateau-neuf, keeper of the seals, died in	1653
Peter Segulier	1672
Matthew Molé, keeper of the seals	1656
Stephen D'Aligre	1677
Michael le Tellier	1685
Lewis Boucherat	1699
Lewis Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, died in 1727, continued in office till	1714
Daniel Francis Voisin	1717

Ministers.

Julius Mazarin, cardinal, prime-minister, died in	1661
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Superintendants of the Finances.

Cl. Bouthillier, died in	1651
Abel Servien	1659
Cl. de Mesmes, count D'Avaux	1650
Nicholas Bailleul	1652
Charles de la Nieuville	1653
Emeri, (his name was Michael Perticelli)	
René de Longueil de Maisons	1677
Nicholas Fouquet*.	1680

Secretaries of State.

Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de Brienne, died in	1666
Cl. Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances	1651
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere	1681
Abel Servien, superintendant of the finances	1659
Leon Bouthillier de Chavigni	1652
Fr. Sublet des Noyers, superintendant of the buildings	1645
H. de Guenegaud de Planci	1676
Michael le Tellier, chancellor	1685
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, resigned in	1669
Hugh de Lionne	1671
Henry Lewis de Lomenie de Brienne	1683
John Baptist Colbert, comptroller-general	1683
John Baptist Colbert de Seignelai	1690

† When this man was arrested, the office of superintendant of the finances was suppressed.

180 SECRETARIES of STATE.

Fr. Michael le Tellier de Louvois	1691
Ch. Colbert de Croissi	1696
Simon Arnauld de Pomponne	1699
Balthazar Phelipeaux de Chateauneuf	1700
Lewis Francis Mary le Tellier de Barbe- fieux	1701
Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, chan- cellor	1727
Dan. Fr. Voisin, chancellor	1717
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere	1725
Michael Chamillard, comptroller-general of the finances	1721
Jerom Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, re- signed in 1715, died in	1747
John Baptist Colbert de Torci	1746

CHAP.

C H A P. CCXIV.

A CATALOGUE of most of the French Writers who flourished in the Age of Lewis XIV. to serve towards the Literary History of that Age.

*A*Badie (James) was born in Bearn in 1558. He was celebrated for his Treatise upon the Christian Religion; but he afterwards hurt the reputation of that work by another, called the Opening of the seven Seals. He died in Ireland in 1727.

Abadie, or *L'Abadie*, (John) was born in the province of Guienne in 1610. He was first a Jesuit, then a Jansenist, and afterwards a Protestant; and at last wanted to form a sect of his own, and unite with La Bourignon, who made him this reply, "That every one had their particular share of the holy spirit, and that her's was greatly superior to his." He has left thirty-one volumes of fanatical writings. I have given him a place here only as an example of the weakness of human understanding. He was not, however, without his disciples. He died at Altena in 1674.

Ablancourt (Nicholas Perrot d'), of an ancient family, of the parliament of Paris, was born at Vitri in 1606. He was an elegant translator, and every one of his performances of this kind was called the Beautiful Infidel. He died poor in 1664.

Acheri (Luke d'), a Benedictine monk: he was a great and judicious compiler: he was born in 1609, and died in 1685.

Alexan-

Alexander (Noel), a Dominican, born at Rouen in 1639. He was author of many theological pieces; and had great disputes, concerning the Chinese customs; with the Jesuits that returned from thence: he died in 1724.

Amelot de la Houssaie (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1634. His translation with political notes, and his historical writings, are greatly sought after; but his alphabetical Memoirs are very faulty. He was the first who ever furnished a true idea of the Venetian government. The senate took umbrage at his history, being still prepossessed with the old mistaken notion, that there are certain political mysteries which ought not to be revealed. Since then, however, it has been discovered that there are no such mysteries, and that true policy consists in being rich, and keeping good armies on foot. Amelot translated and commented upon Machiavel's Prince, a work which was long the favourite of petty lords, who disputed for ill governed territories; but became useless at the time that so many mighty princes, always in arms, suppressed the ambitious views of the weaker. Amelot thought himself the greatest politician in Europe; but he could never rise above a middling station, and at length died extremely poor: the reason was, that he was a politician in genius only, and not in character. He died in 1706.

Amelotte (Dionis), born at Saintongue in 1606. He belonged to the oratory: he is principally known by a tolerable good version of the New Testament. He died in 1678.

Amontons (William), born at Paris in 1663: he was an excellent mathematician. He died in 1699.

Ancillon (David) was born at Metz in 1617: he was a Calvinist, and, together with his son Charles, who died at Berlin in 1715, gained some literary reputation.

Anselm, an Augustin monk. He was the first who compiled a genealogical history of the great officers of the crown, which has been continued and augmented by Du Fourni, auditor of accounts. We have but a very confused notion of what constitutes the great officers of the crown. It is generally thought they are those who bear the title of *great*, in virtue of their office; as grand master of the horse, and grand cup-bearer: but the constables, the marshals, and the chancellors, are great officers, though they do not bear the title of *great*; and there are others who do bear this title, and yet are not reckoned great officers. The captain of the guards, and the first gentleman of the bedchamber, are, in fact, become great officers, though they are not reckoned such by father Anselm. However, there is nothing certain on this head; and there is as great confusion and uncertainty in regard to all the rights and titles in France, as there is order and regulation in the administration. He died in 1694.

Arnauld (Anthony), a doctor of the Sorbonne, born in 1612, and the twentieth son of that Arnauld who pleaded against the Jesuits. He is universally known for his eloquence, his erudition, and his disputes, which acquired him so much reputation, and made him at the same time so unfortunate, according to our ordinary ideas of things, which place exile and poverty in the number of misfortunes, without reflecting that glory, friends, and an healthy old age, were the

portion of this famous man. It is said, in the supplement to Moreri, that Arnauld, in 1689, in order to ingratiate himself with the court, composed a libel against king William, under the title of "a true Picture of William Henry of Nassau, the modern Absalom, Herod, Cromwell, and Nero." This stile, which resembles that of father Garasse, is very unlike Arnauld's. Besides, he never entertained a notion of flattering the court. A book with so gross a title would have met with a very bad reception from Lewis XIV. and those who ascribe this work, and the view in which it was written, to the famous Arnauld, are ignorant that writing books was no kind of introduction to that court. This great man died at Brussels in 1694.

Arnauld d'Andilly (Robert), elder brother to the former, was born in 1588. He was one of the great writers of Port-Royal. His translation of Josephus, which is the most esteemed of all his works, was presented by him to Lewis XIV. at the age of 85. He was father of Simon Arnauld, marquis of Pomponne and minister of state, who, notwithstanding his high character and interest, was unable to prevent the disgrace which befel his uncle the doctor of the Sorbonne, on account of his disputes. He died in 1674.

Aubignac (Francis d'). He was born in 1604. He had never any other master but himself: he was attached to cardinal Richelieu; but a great enemy to Corneille. His *Pratique des Theatres*, or Practice of the Stage, still continues to be read; but he plainly proved by his tragedy of *Zenobia*, that knowledge does not give talents. He died in 1676.

Aubri (Anthony) was born in 1616. We have the lives of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin written by him, which, though indifferent productions in themselves, afford some instruction. He died in 1695.

D'Aunoi (the countess). Her *Memoirs* and *Travels into Spain*, together with some romances written in an easy style, have gained her some reputation. She died in 1705.

D'Auvrigni, the Jesuit. He is author of "A new Method of writing History." We have his "Chronological Annals from the Year 1601 to 1715," in which every thing of importance that passed in Europe, during that space of time, is accurately and concisely related. He is very exact in the dates of his transactions. No writer has ever made a juster distinction between truth, falsehood, and uncertainty. He has likewise composed *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*; but unhappily they are tainted with a party-spirit. Marcel and he have both been eclipsed by the president Hénaut in his *Chronological History of France*, which is the most concise, and at the same time the most complete work of the kind ever published, and the most convenient for the reader.

Baillet (Adrian) was born in the neighbourhood of Beauvais in 1649: he was a famous critic. He died in 1706.

Baluze (Stephen), of the Limousin, born in 1631. He formed the collection of MS. in Colbert's library: he continued his labours until the age of eighty-eight. We are indebted to him for seven volumes of ancient Monuments. He suffered exile for defending the pretensions of the cardinal de Bouillon, who imagined himself independent of the king, and founded his pretensions

tensions on being born of a sovereign prince, during the time when that prince was still in possession of Sedan. He died in 1718.

Balzac (John-Lewis) was born in 1594. He was very eloquent, and the first who founded the prize for eloquence: he had the patent of historiographer of France, and counsellor of state, which he called splendid trifles. He died in 1654.

Barbeirac (John) was born at Beziers in 1674. He was a Calvinist, was professor of law and history at Lausanne, and was the translator and commentator of Puffendorf and Grotius. These treatises upon the laws of nations, and upon peace and war, which have never been serviceable in any treaty of peace, nor in any declaration of war, nor to secure the right of any person, seem to be a consolation to the people for the evils which have been wrought by force and policy, by giving them such an idea of justice as seems, like the portraits of celebrated persons, to shew us those we cannot otherwise see. He died in 1729.

Barbier Darcourt (John), known among the Jesuits by the name of the Advocate Sacrus, and in the world by his Criticism on the Dialogues of Father Bouhours, and by his excellent pleading for a person who was put to the rack. He was a long time protected by Colbert, who made him comptroller of the king's buildings; but having lost his protector, he died in misery in 1694.

Barbier (mademoiselle). This lady wrote several tragedies.

Baron (Michael). The pieces which he published under his own name are thought not to be his: his chief excellence was as a player, in which

which art he rose to a degree of perfection rarely to be found, and that seemed peculiar to himself. The theatric art requires all the gifts of nature, joined to a great understanding and unwearied application; and yet this art do many obstinately condemn. The preachers were frequently wont to come to the house, and sit in a close box, with a grate before it, to study Baron, and afterwards go and declaim against the stage. It is customary for the confessor of a player, who is about to die, to require him to renounce his profession. Baron had quitted the stage in 1691, upon some dislike; and returned to it again in 1720, when he was sixty-eight years old. He continued to be admired as a player until 1729: he was then near seventy-eight, and retired from the stage a second time, and died the same year. On his death-bed he protested, that he had never had the least scruple to repeat before the public the master-pieces of wit and morality of the celebrated writers of the nation; and that he thought nothing could be so absurd as to annex an idea of shame to the repeating that which it was glorious to compose.

Basnage (James) was born at Rouen in 1653. He was a Calvinist, and a pastor at the Hague; but he was fitter to be a minister of state than of a parish. Of all his books, his history of the Jews, of the United Provinces, and of the Church, are the most esteemed. Books on temporary subjects die with the circumstances that gave birth to them, while works of general utility remain for ever. He died in 1723.

Basnage de Beauval (Henry) of Rouen, professed the law in Holland, but was more of a philosopher, and wrote upon Toleration in Religion.

ligion. He was a man of great industry, and published an edition of Furetier's Dictionary with additions. He died in 1710.

Bassompierre (Francis, marshal of). Though his memoirs properly belong to the age preceding that of Lewis XIV. yet we give him a place in this catalogue, as having died in 1646.

Baudran (Michael) was born at Paris in 1633. He was a geographer, but inferior in reputation to Sanfon. He died in 1700.

Bayle (Peter) was born at Carlat, in the county of Foix, in 1647. He retired into Holland rather as a philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted in his life-time by Jurieux, and after his death by the enemies to philosophy. Could he have foreseen how universally his Dictionary would be read, he would have made it still more useful, by retrenching obscure and increasing the illustrious names : he is more esteemed for his excellent manner of reasoning than for his style, that being frequently too prolix, loose, and incorrect ; and sometimes so familiar as to sink into a degree of lowness : he was rather a great logician than a profound philosopher : he understood scarcely any thing of natural philosophy, and was wholly unacquainted with the discoveries of the great Newton. Almost all his philosophical articles take for granted, or else contradict a Cartesian theory, which has no longer any existence : he knew no other definition of matter than extent : its other acknowledged or supposed properties have at length given birth to true philosophy. There have been new demonstrations and new doubts, so that the sceptical Bayle is in several places not enough of the sceptic : he lived and died

died like a wise man. Des Maiseux has written his life, of which he has made a large volume, whereas it ought not to have exceeded six pages. The life of a sedentary writer is to be found in his works. He died in 1706.

Beaumont de Perseux (Hardouin) was preceptor to Lewis XIV. and archbishop of Paris. His History of Henry IV. which is only an abridgment, inspires us with a love for that great prince, and is well calculated to form a good king. He composed it for the use of his royal pupil. It was thought that Mezerai had a share in writing it: there is indeed a good deal of his manner in it; but Mezerai was not master of that affecting style in many places so worthy of the prince whose life Perseux wrote, and of him to whom he addressed it. Those excellent counsels for governing alone were not inserted until the second edition, after the death of cardinal Mazarin. We can form a much juster idea of Henry IV. from a perusal of this history, than from that of Daniel, which is written in a dry manner, and has too much about father Cotton, and too little concerning the great qualities of Henry IV. and the particulars of the life of this excellent king. Perseux affects every sensible heart, and makes us adore the memory of this prince, whose weaknesses were only those of an amiable man, and whose virtues were those of a great one. He died in 1670.

Beausobre (Isaac de) was born at Niort in 1659, of a family distinguished in the profession of arms. He was one of those who have done honour to their country, which they have been obliged to quit. His History of Manichæism is one of the most learned, curious, and best written

written pieces extant : here we find clearly explained the philosophical religion of the Manes, which was formed upon the dogmas of the antient Zoroaster and Hermes, which for a long time seduced St. Augustine himself. This history is enriched with many curious things in antiquity ; but after all, this, like so many other excellent works, is only a collection of human errors. He died at Berlin in 1738.

Benserade (Isaac de) was born in Normandy in 1612. His little house at Gentilli, to which he retired towards the end of his life, was filled with inscriptions in verse, which were of more worth than his other works : it is pity they were never collected. He died in 1691.

Bergier (Nicholas) had the title of historiographer of France ; but he is better known by his curious History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, which are now surpassed by ours in beauty, but not in solidity. His son put the finishing hand to this useful work, and printed it under the reign of Lewis XIV. *Bergier* died in 1623.

Bernard (Mademoiselle) has written some dramatic pieces, in conjunction with the famous Bernard de Fontenelle. It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the allegorical fable of Imagination and Happiness, which has been published under her name, was written by La Parisiere, bishop of Nimes, successor to Fléchier.

Bernard (James) of Dauphiny was born in 1658. He was a man of great learning and knowledge : his journals have been esteemed. He died in Holland in 1718.

Bernier (Francis) surnamed the Mogul, was born at Angers about the year 1625. He was eight years physician to the emperor of the Indies : his voyages are curious : he wanted, with Gassendi, to revive in part the Epicurean system of Atoms, in which he was certainly much in the right ; for the species could not be always reproduced alike, unless the first principles were themselves invariable : but at that time the romantic doctrine of Descartes was all the fashion. He died like a true philosopher in 1688.

Bignon (Jerom) born in 1590. He has left a name greater than his works : he lived before the time of good literature. The parliament, to which he was advocate-general, with reason reveres his memory. He died in 1656.

Billaut (Adam) known by the name of Maître Adam, or Master Adam, a joiner of Nevers. We must not suffer so extraordinary a person to go unnoticed, who, without any learning, became a poet in his shop : nor can we pass over the following rondeaux of his, which is much better than many of Benferade's.

*Pour te guérir de cette sciaticque,
Qui te retient, comme un paralitique,
Entre deux draps sans aucun mouvement,
Pren-moi deux brocs d'un fin jus de serment ;
Puis li comment on le met en pratique.
Prens-en deux doigts, & bien chauds les applique
Sur l'épiderme où la douleur te pique,
Et tu boiras le reste promptement,
Pour te guérir.*

*Sur cet avis ne sois point hérétique ;
Car je te fais un serment autentique,
Que si tu crains ce doux médicament,*

Ton

*Ton Médecin pour ton soulagement
Fera l'essai de ce qu'il communique,
Pour te guérir.*

To cure thee of that curs'd arthritic,
Which keeps thee like a paralytic,
Between two sheets depriv'd of motion,
Provide two flasks of sov'reign potion,
The grape's best juice, that grand specific
Part warm apply, thy pains terrific
Will fly before its pow'r pacific;
Then drink the rest with pure devotion;
And this will cure thee.
But, if in faith thou'rt not prolific,
To make it still more scientific,
Thy doctor shall confirm this notion,
And drink it up, were it an ocean,
To prove its virtue sudorific;
I can assure thee.

He had pensions both from cardinal Richelieu and Gaston brother to Lewis XIII. He died in 1662.

Bochart (Samuel) was born at Rouen in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the most learned men in Europe for languages and history: he was one of those who went to Sweden at once to instruct and admire the famous queen Christina. He died in 1667.

Boileau Despreaux (Nicholas) of the academy. He was born in the village of Crone, in the neighbourhood of Paris, in 1636: he made his first essay at the bar, and afterwards entered into the college of the Sorbonne: but alike displeased with the tricks of both, he gave himself up entirely to the impulse of his genius, and became

the honour of France. His works have been already so much commented upon, that any panegyric here would be superfluous. He died in 1711.

Boileau (Giles) born at Paris in 1631. He was the elder brother of the famous Boileau. There are some translations of his which are of more worth than his verses. He died in 1669.

Boileau (James) another elder brother of Despreaux, and a doctor of the Sorbonne. He had a whimsical genius, and wrote some pieces of an extraordinary kind, in as extraordinary Latin, namely, *The History of the Flagellantes, or Floggers*; *Les Attouchemens Impudiques*, the Lascivious Touches; *Les Habits des Prêtres*, the Priests Dresses, &c. He died in 1716.

Boisrobert (Francis le Metel) more famous for being a favourite of cardinal Richelieu, and for his good fortune, than for his merit: he composed eighteen dramatic pieces, which met with no favour but from his patron. He died in 1662.

Boivin (John) was born in Normandy in 1633, was brother to Lewis Boivin, and like him furnished lights for the better understanding the Greek writers. He died in 1726.

Du Bos (the Abbé.) His history of the League of Cambray, is a learned, political, and interesting work. It gives an insight into the customs and manners of these times, and may justly be esteemed a model in this kind of writing: his reflections on poetry, painting, and music, are read with emolument by all artists. It is the most useful performance of the kind that has appeared on those subjects in any nation of Europe. The chief excellence of this work is, that with a very

few errors, it abounds with just, new, and learned reflections. It is not a methodical work; but the author thinks himself, and teaches his readers to think. With all that, he was ignorant of music, he never wrote a line of poetry, and did not possess a single picture: but he had read, seen, heard, and reflected a great deal. He died in 1742.

Bossu (René le) a regular canon of St. Genevieve. He was born at Paris in 1631: he attempted to reconcile Aristotle and Descartes, without reflecting that both the one and the other ought to be thrown aside: his treatise on epic poetry is in great reputation; but it will never form poets. He died in 1680.

Bossuet (James Benignus) of Dijon, was born in 1627: he was bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux. We have fifty-one different pieces of his writing; but his Funeral Orations, and his Discourse on Universal History, are the works that have immortalized his name. It has been several times asserted in print, that this bishop was married, and that St. Hyacinthus, who was famous for the share he had in the little joke of Matanasius, passed for his son; but there never was any proof of this. A family of eminence in Paris, which has produced several persons of distinguished merit, affirm, that there was a private contract of marriage between Bossuet, when very young, and one mademoiselles des Vieux; that this lady made a sacrifice of her passions and hopes to the interest of her lover, whose eloquence bid fair to procure him considerable advancement in the church, and consented to give up the contract, as the marriage had not been consummated; that Bos-

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suet,

suet, released from his engagements, entered into holy orders; and that after his death this family had the settling of this affair, and declare that the lady never made an ill use of the dangerous secrets she was mistress of: she always lived in a chaste and respectful friendship with the bishop of Meaux, who enabled her to purchase the little estate of Maulion, about five leagues distant from Paris, of which she took the title, and lived to almost the age of an hundred. It is moreover pretended that this great man's sentiments as a philosopher were different from what he taught as a divine, like a learned magistrate, who at the same time that he gives sentence, according to the letter of the law, may in private rise superior to it by the force of his genius. He died in 1704.

Bouchenu de Valbonnais (John Peter) was born at Grenoble in 1651: he made several voyages in the early part of his life, and was on board the English fleet at the sea-fight off Solebay: he was afterwards president of the chamber of accounts in Dauphiny: his memory is still held dear by the inhabitants of Grenoble, for the good he did in that place, and to all men of learning for his noble enquiries: he composed his Memoirs of Dauphiny when he was blind, from what was read to him. He died in 1730.

Boubier. The author of several natural pieces of poetry. When he was dying, at the age of eighty-six, he made this epitaph for himself:

*J'étais poëte, historien ;
Et maintenant, je ne suis rien.*

Once poet and historian, I,
Now dust, in dark oblivion, lie.

Boubier, president of the parliament of Dijon : he is famous for his erudition : he translated some passages of the antient Latin poets into French verse, being of opinion that this was the only good way of translating them ; but his poetry shews the difficulty of such an undertaking.

Bouhours (Dominic) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1628. The French language and good taste owe him many obligation : he was author of several very good pieces, which gave birth to some excellent criticisms : *ex privatis odiis res publica crescit*. His Life of St. Ignatius de Loyola did not greatly please the generality of readers ; and that of St. Francis Xavier underwent some strictures ; but his remarks on language, and above all his Method of judging rightly of Works of Genius, will be always of use to young people, who are desirous of forming their taste : he teaches them to avoid bombast, obscurity, far fetched and false thoughts. If he passes sentence somewhat too severely upon certain passages of Tasso, and other Italian authors, he as often condemns them justly : his stile is pure and pleasing. The little tract abovementioned greatly offended the Italians, and brought on a kind of national quarrel. It was thought, that the opinion of father Bouhours, which was strengthened by that of Boileau, might come to be a kind of law. The marquis d'Orsi, and some others, composed two very large volumes in defence of some of Tasso's verses : but here let it be remarked, that father Bouhours would have had very little right to reproach the Italian writers with their false thoughts, who himself compares Ignatius Loyola to Cæsar, and Francis Xavier

Xavier to Alexander, only that he was very seldom guilty of these faults.

Bouillaud (Ishmael) of Loudoun, was born in 1605: he was learned in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

Boulainvilliers (the count of) of the house of Crouy: the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history, and the most capable of writing that of France, had he not been too systematical. He calls the ancient feudal government the Master-piece of Human Genius: he regrets those times in which the people, enslaved by ignorant and brutal petty tyrants, were without industry, commerce, or property; and is of opinion, that an hundred lords, the oppressors of the earth, and the enemies of their prince, composed the most perfect of all governments. Notwithstanding this wild hypothesis he was an excellent citizen, as, notwithstanding his weakness for judicial astrology, he was an able philosopher, so far as it is part of a philosopher to hold life for nothing, and despise death. There is printed at the end of his works, A large scheme for rendering the king of France richer than all the other Monarchs of the World. But it is plain that this piece is not the count de Boulainvilliers. He died about the year 1720.

Bourdaloue, was born at Bourges in 1632: he was a Jesuit, and the chief model for all good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

Boursault (Edmund) was born in Burgundy in 1638: his letters to Babet, which were much esteemed at the time he wrote them, are become like all other epistolary writings in that taste, the amusement of young country people: his

his comedy of *Æsop* is still played. He died in 1701.

Bourgeois (Amable) was born in Auvergne in 1606: he was author of several works of politics and controversy. Silhon and he are suspected of composing the Political Testament, said to have been made by cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1672.

Brebeuf (William) was born in Normandy in 1638: he is known by his translation of the *Pharsalia*; but it is not so generally known that he was the author of *Lucan travestti*. He died in 1661.

Breteuil, Marchioness du Chatelet (Gabriel Emilia) was born in 1706. She illustrated the writings of Leibnitz, and translated Newton with comments; a merit which was of little use to her at court, but which gained her the veneration of every nation that had a love for learning, who admired her depth of genius and eloquence. Of all the women who have adorned France, she had the greatest share of true understanding, and affected the least to be thought a wit. She died in 1749.

Brienne (Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de), secretary of state: he has left some memoirs. It would be useful for ministers of state to compose memoirs; but then they should be such as those which have been lately collected under the name of the duke of Sully. He died in 1666.

La Bruyere (John) was born at Dourdain in 1644. It is certain, that in his *Characters* he has given us the portraits of several well-known and considerable personages. This work has occasioned a great many bad imitators. He died in 1696.

De Bruis (the abbé) was born in Languedoc in 1639. Although the author of ten volumes of controversy, his name would have been buried in oblivion; but his petit piece called *Le Grondeur* (the Grumbler), which is far superior to any of Moliere's farces, and the Advocate Patelin, an ancient monument of the true Gaulish simplicity revived by him, will make him known as long as there is a stage in France. He was assisted by Palaprat in these two pretty pieces. These are the only works of genius that were ever composed by two authors jointly. He died in 1723.

I cannot close this article without taking notice of a very extraordinary event, to be met with in the Collection of literary Anecdotes, printed by Durand in 1650, vol. ii. p. 369, where the author tells us, "the Amours of Lewis XIV. having been introduced in a play upon the English stage, Lewis was willing, in return, to exhibit those of king William upon the French theatre; and the abbé de Bruis was ordered by the marquis de Torci to write a piece upon this subject, which he did; but though it was greatly applauded by those who saw it in MS. it was never performed."

Here let it be observed, that this Collection of Anecdotes, which is full of the like tales, is printed with approbation and privilege. Now the amours of Lewis XIV. were never made the subject of a piece played on the English stage; and it is well known, that king William had never any mistress; or, if he had, Lewis XIV. knew too well what he owed to good-breeding to order any one to write a comedy upon William's amours: M. de Torci was not a person

to make so impertinent a proposal; and, in short, the abbé de Eruis never thought of writing so ridiculous a piece as that ascribed to him. It cannot be too often repeated, that the greatest part of the collections of anecdotes, *anas*, and secret memoirs, with which the public is over-run, are only wretched compilations, patched up in a hurry, to answer the purposes of indigent or mercenary scribblers.

Brumoi (the Jesuit). His Greek Theatre passes for one of the best works of the kind: he has shewn by his poetry, that it is much easier to translate and praise the antients, than to equal the celebrated moderns by productions of one's own. This author is likewise chargeable with not having had a sufficient idea of the superiority of the French stage over that of the Greeks, and the prodigious difference between the *Misanthrope* of Moliere and the *Frogs* of Aristophanes.

Brun (Peter le) was born at Aix in 1661. He belonged to the Oratory. His critical treatise on Superstitious Practices has been greatly esteemed; but he is a physician who gives an account of a very few diseases only, and is himself much disordered. He died in 1729.

Buffier (Claud), a Jesuit. His Artificial Memory is of very great service to those who are desirous of retaining the principal events of history always fresh in their minds: he has made that use of verse (I will not say poetry) for which it was originally intended; namely, to imprint on the mind those events which men are desirous of remembering.

Buffy Rabutin (Roger, count of), was born in the Nivernois in 1618. He wrote with purity:
his

his misfortunes and his productions* are sufficiently known: he died at Autun in 1693.

Cailly (the chevalier de), known only by the name of *Acceilly*: he was devoted to the service of the minister Colbert. The time of his birth and death are alike unknown. There is a collection of his of some hundreds of epigrams, amongst which there are several very bad, and some tolerably pretty: he wrote naturally, but without any imagination in his expression.

Calprenede (Walter de la) was born at Cahors, about the year 1612. He was one of the gentlemen in ordinary to the king: he was the first who brought long romances into fashion. The merit of these consisted in a number of adventures, the intrigue of which was artfully enough conducted, and, though incredible, not altogether impossible. Boyardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, on the contrary, loaded their poetic romances with fictions entirely unnatural; but the charms of their versification, the innumerable beauties of the detail, and the admirable allegories, especially those of Ariosto, altogether, have made their poems immortal; while the works of *La Calprenede*, like most other great romance-

* The source of his disgrace was a book which he wrote, called the *Amorous History of the Gauls*, containing the most remarkable amours of the age. The piece was not intended for the press; but was presented in manuscript to the king, who was so much incensed, that he sent the author to the Bastille. The count himself pretended, that it was altered, garbled, and interpolated in a shocking manner before it was produced to his majesty. He made great efforts to obtain the king's forgiveness; and, being released from the Bastille, was exiled to his own house in the country, where he lived to a good old age, without ever being able to retrieve the good graces of his master.

writers, are sunk in estimation. What has chiefly contributed to their fall, is the great perfection the stage is arrived at. In a good tragedy, or a good opera, we meet with a much greater number of sentiments than are to be found in all these enormous volumes: these sentiments are at the same time much better expressed, and there appears a much clearer knowledge of the human heart. Thus Racine and Quinault, who have given a little into the stile of these romances, have contributed to obliterate them by speaking more truly to the heart, and in a manner more tender and harmonious. He died in 1663.

Campifiron (John) was born at Toulouse in 1656. He was a pupil and imitator of Racine. The duke of Vendome, whose secretary he was, made his fortune; and Baron the player, in part, his reputation. There are some affecting strokes in his pieces, though they are in general but weakly written: however, the language is pure; and since his time this requisite has been so much neglected in our theatrical pieces, that at length the stile is become almost barbarous. This is what Boileau greatly lamented at his death. He died in 1723.

Du Cange (Charles du Fresne) was born at Amiens in 1610. His two Glossaries are well known for being of the greatest use towards understanding the customs of the latter empire, and the following ages. He was one of those who was rewarded by Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

Cassandre. He and Dacier have done more service to the reputation of Aristotle, than all the pretended philosophers together. He translated his treatise on Rhetoric, as well as Dacier has done

done the treatise on Poetry, of that famous Greek; and we cannot but admire Aristotle, and the age of Alexander, when we find that the preceptor of that great man, who has been so much decried for his natural philosophy, was intimately acquainted with the principles of eloquence and poetry. Where is the naturalist of our age capable of giving rules at the same time for an oration and a tragedy? Cassandre lived and died in a state of extreme poverty. This was not owing to the want of talents; but to a stubborn, morose, and unsociable disposition. Many who complain of the unkindness of fortune have often only themselves to blame.

Cassini (John-Dominick) was born in the county of Nice in 1625, and was invited to France by Colbert in 1666. He was the first astronomer of his age; but he began, like all others, by the study of astrology. As he was naturalized in France, and married and had children there, and died at Paris, he may justly be accounted in the number of Frenchmen. He has rendered his name immortal by his meridional clock of St. Petrona at Boulogne, which shews the variations in the swiftness of the earth's motion round the sun. He was the first who demonstrated, by the parallax of the planet Mars, that the sun is at least thirty-three millions of miles distant from the earth. He foretold the path described by the comet of 1664: he likewise discovered the five satellites of Saturn, of which Huyghens had seen only one; and this discovery of Cassini's was celebrated in an historical medal of Lewis XIV. He died in 1712.

Catrou was born in 1659. He was a Jesuit, and, in conjunction with father Rouillé, com-

posed twenty volumes of the Roman History, in which, for the sake of eloquence, they have neglected exactness. He died in 1737.

Du Cerceau (John-Anthony) was born in 1670. He was a Jesuit. In his French poetry, which is but of the middling kind, there are some verses natural and happily turned. He has intermixed the purity of style of the age he wrote in, with something in the manner of Marot; a style which, by its too great negligence, enervates poetry, and spoils the present language, by introducing antiquated words and terms. He died in 1730.

Cerisi (Germain-Habert). He lived in the dawn of good taste, at the time when the French academy was first established. His *Metamorphosis of Phillis's Eyes into Stars* was cried up as a master piece; but ceases to be so, since the appearance of so many excellent writers. He died in 1655.

La Chambre (Marin Cureau de). He was born at Mons in 1594: he was one of the first members of the academy; he died in 1669. Both he and his son had some share of reputation.

Chantereau (Lewis le Fevre) was born in 1588. He was a man of great learning, and one of the first who cleared up the history of France; but he has given sanction to a great error, namely, that the hereditary fiefs did not begin until after the reign of Hugh Capet; whereas, if we regard only the example of Normandy, which was given, or rather extorted, by the title of an hereditary fief in 912, it will be sufficient to overthrow the opinion of Chantereau, which has been adopted by several historians. It is moreover certain, that feudal honours, with property,

were instituted in France by Charlemagne, and that this form of government was known before his time in Lombardy and Germany. Chante-reau died in 1658.

Chapelain (John) was born in 1595. Had it not been for his *Pucelle*, (or *Maid of Orleans*), he would have had some reputation in the literary world: he got more, however, by that wretched poem than Homer did by his *Iliad*. Chapelain was nevertheless of some use by his learning. It was he who corrected Racine's first poetical attempts. At his first setting out, he was the oracle of all poets, and at length became their disgrace: he died in 1674.

La Chapelle, receiver-general of the finances, author of some tragedies, which had success in their time. He was one of those who endeavoured to imitate Racine; for this great writer, like the great masters in painting, formed a school without knowing it. This Raphael in poetry did not, however, form a *Julio Romano*; and yet some of his first disciples wrote with tolerable purity of language; whereas, in the decline which followed, we have seen, even in our time, whole tragedies, in which there are not four lines together without some gross faults.

Chapelle (Claude Huillier), natural son to de l'Huillier, master of accounts. It is not true that he was the first who made use of double rhimes: d'Assouci used them before him, and even with some success.

*Pourquoi donc, sexe au teint de rose,
Quand la charité vous impose
La loi d'aimer votre prochain,
Pouvez-vous me haïr sans cause,*

Moi

*Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien ?
 Eh ! pour mon honneur je vois bien
 Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose.*

Ah ! sex, by nature form'd to please,
 When charity this law decrees,
 That one another we should love :
 Can you thus hate with so much ease,
 Me who am harmless as a dove ?
 I find, mine honour to approve,
 I must do something more than tease.

Chapelle had more success than others in that kind of verse which requires grace and harmony ; but even here he frequently prefers a barren abundance of rhimes to the thought and turn. His voluptuous manner of living, and the few pretensions he made, contributed greatly to the fame of his little pieces. It is known, that in his Voyage to Montpellier there are many strokes of Bachaumont, son to the president le Coineux, one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was moreover one of the best pupils of the famous Gassendi : however, we shall always distinguish between the encomiums that so many men of letters have bestowed on Chapelle, and geniuses of his stamp, and those which are given to great masters. He died in 1686.

Chardin (John) was born at Paris in 1643. No traveller has left more curious memoirs. He died at London in 1713.

Charleval (John Faucon de Ris): He was one of those who acquired reputation by a delicacy of genius, without making it too public.

The famous dialogue between marechal d'Hocquincourt and father Canaye, printed at the end
 of

of St. Evremont's works, was written by Charleval, as far as the little dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which was added by St. Evremont. The stile of this latter part is very different from that of the beginning. The late monsieur de Caumartin, counsellor of state, was in possession of Charleval's own MS. We are told in Moreri, that the president de Ris, nephew to Charleval, would not suffer his uncle's works to be printed, lest the name of an author should happen to prove a disgrace to the family. A man must be very meanly bred, and very weak, to advance any thing of this nature in the present age; and in a person of the long robe it would have been an instance of pride, worthy only of the times of military ignorance and barbarism, when study was left wholly to those of the robe, through a contempt for both the one and the other.

Charpentier (Francis) was born at Paris in 1620. He was a useful academic. We have a translation of the *Cyropædia* by him: he was a strenuous defender of the opinion, that our public monumental inscriptions in France should be in the French language. In fact, it is degrading a language, which is now spoken through all Europe, to be diffident of using it; and it is acting counter to the intention to speak to a whole people in a tongue that is unintelligible, to at least three fourths of them. There is a kind of cruelty in latinizing French names, and as it may mislead posterity, and the names of Rocroi and Fontenoi have a more pleasing sound than those of Rocrosum and Fonteniacum. He died in 1702.

La Châtre (Edme, marquis of) He has left some memoirs. He died in 1645.

Chaulieu (William) was born in Normandy in 1639: he is well known for his easy and negligent way of writing verse, and for the bold and sensual beauties found in them. Most of his verses breath the spirit of freedom, pleasure, and a philosophy superior to vulgar prejudice: this was his real character: he lived in pleasure, and died with intrepidity in 1720.

Cheminais, a Jesuit: he was called the Racine of preachers, and Bourdaloue the Corneille:

Cheron (Elizabeth) was born at Paris in 1648. She was famous for her knowledge of music, painting, and poetry, and was better known by her own name than by that of her husband, the sieur le Hay. She died in 1711.

Chevreau (Urban) was born at Loudoun in 1613: he was in much reputation as a learned man, and a great wit. He died in 1701.

Chifflet (John-James) was born at Besancon in 1588. There are several Enquiries written by him. He died in 1660. There have been seven authors of this name.

Choisi (Francis de) was born at Rouen in 1644: he was envoy at Siam, and has left us an account of that embassy: he composed several historical pieces, and a translation of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, dedicated to madame de Maintenon, with this motto; *Concupiscet rex decorem tuum*: as also the Memoirs of the Countess des Barres, which countess is himself; he having worn the dress, and lived as a woman for several years: he made a purchase of an estate near Tours, under the name of the countess des Barres. In these Memoirs he relates freely the many mistresses he had under this disguise. Whilst he led this life he wrote the

History

History of the church. In his Memoirs of the Court we meet with several facts, of which some are true, some false, and many taken upon trust; they are wrote in rather too familiar a stile.

Claude (John) was born in Agenois, in 1619. He was minister of Charenton, and was the pride of his sect. He was worthy of being the rival of Bossuet, Arnauld, and Nicole. He composed fifteen pieces, which were all greedily sought after in those times of disputation. Polemical writings have all but their stated time; but the Fables of la Fontaine, and the Works of Ariosto, will be handed down to the latest posterity. Five or six thousand volumes of controversy are already buried in oblivion. This writer died at the Hague, in 1687.

Le Cointe (Charles) was born at Troies, in 1611. He belonged to the oratory. His Ecclesiastical Annals, printed at the Louvre by order of the king, are useful monuments in their kind. He died in 1681.

Collet (Philibert) was born at Dombes in 1643. He was a civilian, and a free thinker. Being excommunicated by the bishop of Lyons, on account of a parish quarrel, he wrote against the sentence. He opposed the confinement of women in cloisters, and, in his treatise on usury, he argues strongly in support of the custom established at Bresse, of stipulating the interest with the principal, a custom adopted by the greatest part of Europe, and followed by most of the trading part of the rest, notwithstanding the laws to the contrary, which are easily evaded. He likewise affirms, that the
tithes

tithes paid to churchmen do not belong to them by divine right. He died in 1718.

Colomiez (Paul). The time of his birth is not known. His works begin to sink into oblivion, but they are useful to those who are fond of literary enquiries. He died at London in 1692.

Commire (the Jesuit). He was in reputation amongst those who think that good Latin verses may be made at present, and that foreigners are capable of reviving the Augustan age, in a language they are not even able to pronounce.

In silvam ne ligna feras.

Cordemoi (Gerald) was born at Paris. The learned world is obliged to him for having cleared up the confused accounts of the first races of the kings of France, and indebted to the duke of Montausier for this useful undertaking, who set him about writing the history of Charlemagne, for the use of Monseigneur the dauphin, of whom he had the education. He met with nothing but absurdities and contradictions in our old French historians; however the difficulty served to encourage him, and he cleared up the two first races. He died in 1684.

Cornille (Peter) was born at Rouen in 1606. Though at present only six or seven of his pieces are played, yet he will always be the father of the stage. He is the first who raised the genius of the nation, and that is sufficient to gain pardon for about twenty of his pieces, which, except in a very few places, are the worst that we have, both for stile, barrenness of intrigue, and insipid and misplaced amours; and by a heap of

wire-

wire-drawn conversations, which are the reverse of true tragedy. But we are to judge of a great man only by his excellencies, and not by his faults. It is said that his translation of the Imitation of Christ went through thirty-two editions; this however is as difficult to believe, as it is to read one of them. He received a gratification from the king in his last illness; he died in 1684.

It is said in several printed collections of anecdotes, that he had a particular place set apart for him at the play-house, and that, whenever he came in, every body rose and received him with a clap. Unhappily, mankind are not so ready to do justice to merit. The real truth is, that the king's comedians refused to play his eight last pieces, and he was obliged to give them to another company.

Corneille (Thomas) was born at Rouen in 1625. He would have gained great reputation, if he had not had a brother. There are thirty-four dramatic pieces of his. He died poor, in the year 1709.

Cousin (Lewis) was born at Paris in 1517. He was president of the court of Coins. We are indebted to him for several translations from the Greek historians, which were not known before. He died in 1707.

The baron *des Coutiers* translated Lucretius in prose, with commentary-notes, about the middle of the reign of Lewis XIV. He was of the same way of thinking with that philosopher, in relation to most of the first principles of things. He believed matter to be eternal, as did all the ancients. The Christian religion has alone opposed this doctrine.

Dacier, (Andrew) was born at Castres in 1651. He was originally a Calvinist, as well as his wife, and, like her, became afterwards a Roman catholic. He was keeper of the books in the king's cabinet of Paris, a post which no longer subsists. He was rather a learned man than an elegant writer; but his translations and notes will always be of use. He died in the Louvre, in 1722.

Danchet. (Anthony) He succeeded in some few operas, by the assistance of the musician, and they are rather better than his tragedies.

Dancourt, (Florence Carton) the advocate, was born in 1622, and chose rather to apply himself to the stage than the bar. What Regnard was for high comedy, with regard to Moliere, Dancourt was for farce. Several of his pieces still bring crowded houses; they are full of life, and the dialogue is simple and natural. The number of these easy pieces of composition is immense: they better suit the taste of the people, than delicate minds, but amusement is one of the wants of mankind; and this kind of comedy, which is so easy to play, pleases, both in Paris and in the provinces, the majority, who are not capable of tasting more refined pleasures. He died in 1726.

Danet (Peter) was one of those writers who are more useful than celebrated. His dictionaries of the Latin language and of antiquities, were in the number of those remarkable books composed for the education of Monseigneur the dauphin, which, if they did not make a learned man of that prince, contributed not a little to the instruction of the kingdom. He died in 1709.

Dangeau (Lewis abbé de) was born in 1643. He was an excellent academic. He died in 1723.

Daniel (Gabriel) a Jesuit. He was historiographer of France, and has rectified the mistakes of Mezeray, concerning the first and second races of our kings. It is alledged against him, that his diction is not always sufficiently pure; that his stile is poor and uninteresting; that he is not lively in his descriptions; that he has not given sufficient insight into customs, manners, and laws; and that his history is a tedious detail of military operations, in which an historian of his character is almost always mistaken.

The count of Boulainvilliers, in his memoirs on the French government, says, that Daniel is guilty of a thousand errors. This is saying a great deal; but luckily those errors are of as little consequence as the real truths would have been in their room; for, of what importance is it, to know whether it was the right or the left wing that gave way at the battle of Montléry, or by what part Lewis the Fat entered the ruins of Puisset? A member of society is desirous of knowing by what steps the government came to change its form, what were the several privileges and encroachments of the different bodies, what was done by the general estates, what was the spirit of the nation, &c. Father Daniel's history, with all its faults, is still the best that is to be found, at least till the reign of Lewis XI. He pretends, in his preface, that the early periods of the history of France are more interesting than those of Rome, because Cloris and Dagobert possessed larger territories than Romulus and Tarquin. He was
not

not aware, that the weak beginnings of all great things are interesting to mankind; we are fond of beholding the trifling reign of a nation, to whom France was but a province, and that extended its empire to the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger. It might be acknowledged, that our history, and that of other nations, from the fifth century of the vulgar æra to the fifteenth, is only a chaos of barbarous adventures, under barbarous names.

Dargonne (Noël) was born at Paris in 1634. He was a Carthusian friar at Gaillon, and the only one of his order who ever cultivated literature. His miscellanies, published under the name of Vigneul de Marville, are full of curious and bold anecdotes. He died in 1704.

Descartes, (René) born at Touraine in 1596, was son to a counsellor of the parliament of Brittany. He was the greatest mathematician of his time, but a philosopher who knew the least of nature, when compared with those who came after him. He passed the greatest part of his life out of France, that he might pursue his philosophical studies more at liberty, in imitation of Saumaïse, who took the like step; but he was disappointed of the quiet he thought to find in a retirement in Holland. Two professors of the balderdash school divinity, taught at that time, the one named Voet, and the other Shockius, brought the ridiculous charge of atheism against him, with which almost every philosopher has been branded by contemptible writers. It availed him nothing that he had exhausted his genius in collecting proofs of the existence of a God, and in searching for new ones. His enemies compared him to Vanini,
in

in one of the pieces they published against him ; not that Vanini was really an atheist, the contrary has been demonstrated ; but he was burnt as such, and they could not have made a more shocking comparison. Descartes found great difficulty to obtain a very slight satisfaction, by a decree of the academy of Groninguen. His Meditations, his Discourse on Method, are still in esteem ; his natural philosophy is entirely fallen, being founded neither on geometry nor experiments. He was a long time in possession of so prodigious a reputation, that la Fontaine, who knew nothing of the matter, indeed, but was the eccho of the public voice, said of him,

*Descartes ce mortel dont on eût fait un Dieu,
Dans le siècles passés, & qui tient le milieu
Entre l'homme & l'esprit, comme entre l'huitre &
l'homme,
Le tient tel de nos gens franche bête de somme.*

Descartes, in ages past, had been
Ador'd as God. He rank'd between
Pure soul and man immur'd in cloister,
As human brutes 'twixt man and oister.

The abbé Genet, a writer of the present century, has unfortunately been at the pains to translate Descartes's natural philosophy into French verse.

It is only since the year 1730, that France has begun to recover from the errors of that chimerical philosophy, and since that experimental philosophy and geometry have been cultivated. Descartes has had the same fate in natural

tural philosophy, as Ronfard had in poetry. He died at Stockholm, in 1650.

Desmarets de St. Sorlin (John) was born at Paris, in 1595. He had a great share in writing cardinal Richelieu's tragedy of *Mirame*. His comedy of the *Visionaries* passed for a master-piece, but this was before *Moliere* appeared. He was comptroller-general extraordinary of war, and secretary of the marine in the Levant. Towards the latter part of his life, he became more known for his fanaticism than his productions. He died in 1676.

Domat, a famous civilian. His book on civil law met with great approbation.

Douyat (John) was born at Toulouse, in 1639. He was a civilian, and a man of letters. He every year had a child by his wife, and composed a book. The same is said of *Tiracqueau*. The *Journal des Scavans* calls him a great man, but this is a title not to be lavished. He died in 1688.

Dubois (Gerard) was born at Orleans, in 1629. He was of the oratory. He composed the *History of the Church of Paris*. He died in 1696.

Duché was valet de chambre to Lewis XIV. He made some tragedies for the court, taken from holy writ, like *Racine*, but not with equal success. His opera of *Iphigenia at Tauris*, is his best piece. It is wrote in the sublime taste; and, though it is but an opera, it affords a strong idea of the best things in the Greek tragedies. This taste did not last long, and soon after we were reduced to simple ballets, consisting of detached acts, made solely for the sake of introducing the dances; thus, even the
opera

opera began to degenerate, at the time that almost every other theatrical production was upon the decline.

Madame de Maintenon made the fortune of this author, by recommending him in such strong terms to monsieur de Pontchartrain, secretary of state, that, supposing him to be a person of some consideration, the minister went to pay him a visit. When Duché, who at that time lived very obscurely, saw a secretary of state enter his house, he thought it was to carry him to the Bastile.

Duchefne (Andrew) was born at Touraine, in 1584. He was historiographer to the king, and author of several historical tracts and genealogical enquiries. He was called the father of French history. He died in 1640.

Dufrénoi (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1611. He was both painter and poet. His poem on painting has been greatly applauded by those who can read other Latin verses than those of the Augustan age: he died in 1665.

Dufrény (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1648: he passed for the grandson of Henry IV. whom he resembled: he was valet of the wardrobe to Lewis XIV. as his father had been to Lewis XIII. his royal master was continually giving him some marks of his bounty, notwithstanding his disorderly way of life, but all could not keep him from dying poor. Though he had a great share of wit, and was not confined in his talents, he never could compose a regular piece. We have several comedies of his writing, in every one of which there are some pretty and singular scenes: he died in 1724.

Dupleix (Scipio) of Cardom. Tho' this writer was born in 1559, yet he may be reckoned in the Age of Lewis XIV. as he was living in his reign: he was the first historian who quoted his authorities in the margin of his work, which is a precaution absolutely necessary in those who do not write the history of their own times, unless they confine themselves to well known facts: his history of France is no longer read, there having been others much better digested, and written since his time: he died in 1661.

Esprit (James) was born at Béziers, in 1611: he wrote a book On the Fallacy of Human Virtue, which is only a commentary on the duke of Rochefoucault. Chancellor Seguier, who had a good opinion of his learning, gave him a patent of counsellor of state: he died in 1678.

Estades (Marshal d'). His letters are in as great esteem as those of cardinal d'Osat, and it is a circumstance peculiar to the French, that their simple dispatches have frequently been excellent works: he died in 1686.

La Fare (the marquis of). He is well known by his Memoirs, and some agreeable verses: his talent for poetry did not discover itself till he was in his sixtieth year. It was in praise of madame de Cailus, one of the most amiable women of the age, both for wit and beauty, that he first exercised his muse; and his verses on that lady are, perhaps, the most delicate of any he has composed.

*Me abandonnant un jour à la tristesse,
 Sans espérance, & même sans desirs,
 Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
 Dont la douceur enchantà ma jeunesse.
 Sont-ils perdus, disais-je, sans retour ?
 Et n'es-tu pas cruel, amour !
 Toi que j'ai fait dès mon enfance,
 Le maître de mes plus beaux jours,
 D'en laisser terminer le cours
 A l'ennuyeuse indifférence ?
 Alors j'aperçus dans les airs
 L'enfant maître de l'Univers,
 Qui plein d'une joie inhumaine
 Me dit en souriant, Tircis, ne te plain plus,
 Je vai mettre fin à ta peine,
 Je te promets un regard de Cailus.*

*Indulging once a melancholly vein,
 Depriv'd of hope and even without desire,
 I sigh'd to think of that gay, pleasing fire,
 Which flush'd with rapture, youth's enchant-
 ing reign !*

*And are these tender joys for ever flown ?
 Ah ! cruel love so early known,
 My prime of manhood own'd thy pow'r intense ;
 If then the zenith of my days was thine,
 Ah ! leave me not a prey in life's decline,
 To vacant thought and cold indifference.
 Then hov'ring in the nether sky,
 The world's great master, Love, I spy ;
 Who, smiling with inhuman glee,
 Said, prithee Thirsis cease to wail,
 More happy days thou still shalt see ;
 A glance of Cailus shall thine heart regale.*

He died in 1713.

La Fayette (Mary Magdalen de la Vergne, countess of). Her princess of Cleves, and her *Zaide*, were the first romances in which the manners of polite life, and natural adventures appeared described with elegance. Before her they wrote only a heap of impossibilities, in a bombast stile. She died in 1693.

Félibien (Andrew) was born at Chartres, in 1619: he was the first who gave the title of Great to Lewis XIV. in the inscriptions in the town-house of Paris: his Discourses on the Lives of the Painters, was that, of all his works, which did him the most honour: he is elegant, profound, and shews great taste; but he makes use of too many words to say a few things, and is absolutely void of method: he died in 1695.

Fénelon (Francis de Salignac) archbishop of Cambray, was born at Perigord, in 1651. We have fifty-five different productions of his, all of which seem to come from a heart full of virtue, but his *Telemachus* especially inspires that virtue: he has been in vain condemned by Gueudeville and the abbé Faidit: he died at Cambrai, in 1715.

After the death of Fenelon, Lewis XIV. burnt, with his own hand, all the manuscripts which the duke of Burgundy had preserved of his preceptor's. Ramsay, who was brought up under this celebrated prelate, wrote to me in these words: "Had he been born in England, his genius would have discovered itself more strongly; and he would, without fear, have given full scope to his principles, which no one was acquainted with."

Ferrand, counsellor of the court of Aids. We have some pretty verses of his writing: he joined with *Roussseau* in the Epigram and Madrigal. The following is a specimen of the taste in which *Ferrand* wrote.

*D'amour & de mélancolie
Celemnus enfin consumé,
En fontaine fut transformé ;
Et qui boit de ses eaux, oublie
Jusqu'au nom de l'objet aimé ;
Pour mieux oublier Égérie,
J'y courus hier vainement :
A force de changer d'amant
L'infidèle l'avoit tarie.*

Celemnus wasted to the marrow,
By blasted love and moping sorrow,
Was to a fountain chang'd by fate,
Whose waters drank, obliterate
All traces from the lover's mind,
Of swains untrue, or nymphs unkind.
Thither Egeria to forget,;
By drinking eagerly, I fly
But lo ! the sickle vain coquet,
Herself had drank the fountain dry.

By this we may perceive that *Ferrand* wrote upon subjects of gallantry with more nature, ease, and delicacy ; and that *Roussseau* was more forcible and studied in licentious ones.

Feuquières de Pas, (the marquis of) was born at Paris in 1648 : he was an officer of consummate knowledge in the art of war, and an excellent guide, if he was not at the same time too severe a critic : he died in 1711.

Le Fevre (Tanegui) was born at Caën in Normandy, in 1615: he was a Calvinist, and professor at Saumur: he despised those of the sect, though he lived amongst them: he was more the philosopher than the Huguenot; he wrote as well in Latin as a person can write in a dead language, and made some Greek verses, which apparently have had very few readers. The chief obligation which the learned world has to him, is being the father of madame Dacier: he died in 1678.

Le Fevre (Anne) madame Dacier. She was born in the Calvinist faith, at Saumur, in 1651, and is famous for her great learning. The duke of Montausier employed her in one of those books which were called the Dauphin's, for the education of that prince. Florus, with Latin notes, is her's: her translation of Terence and Homer have done her immortal honour: her only fault was, a too great fondness for her own translations. La Motte attacked her with wit, and she replied with erudition. She died at the Louvre in 1720.

Flechier (Esprit) of the country of Avignon, was born in 1632, and was bishop of Lavaur, and afterwards of Nîmes. He was born a French and Latin poet, an historian, and a preacher; but he is chiefly known by his fine funeral orations. He composed his history of Theodosius for the use of the dauphin. The duke of Montausier engaged the best scholars of France, to employ their talents in productions for the education of his royal pupil. Flechier died in 1710.

Fleury (Claud) was born in 1640. He was subpreceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and con-
fessor

feſſor to Lewis XV. his ſon. He lived at court in retirement and labour. His hiſtory of the church is the beſt that was ever written; and the preliminary diſcourſes are ſtill far ſuperior to his hiſtory. Theſe are in a philoſophical taſte; but his hiſtory is not. He died in 1723.

La Fontaine. (John) was born at Chateau-Thierry in 1621. He was the moſt plain and ſimple man living, but admirable in his way, tho' negligent and unequal. He was the only good writer of his time who did not partake of the bounties of Lewis XIV. tho' entitled to them by his merit and his poverty. His fables are for the moſt part infinitely ſuperior to any that have been written before or ſince, in any language whatſoever. In the tales which he imitated from Arioſto, he wants that writer's elegance and purity; he falls far ſhort of him in his deſcriptions, which deſect eſcaped Boileau in his Diſſertation on Joconde, becauſe he did not underſtand Italian: but in thoſe tales which he has taken from Boccace, *La Fontaine* is ſuperior, as having a much greater ſhare of wit, elegance, and art, than the Italian, whoſe only merit is ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and exactneſs of language, but *La Fontaine* corrupted the French. He died in 1695.

Fontenelle (Bernard Bouvier de.) Though he was living in 1756, yet he muſt be an exception to the rule we have laid down for ourſelves of not admitting any living perſon into this catalogue, his great age, being near an hundred when he died, ſeems to demand this diſtinction. He is at preſent equally above panegyric and criticiſm. He may be conſidered as the moſt univerſal genius that the age of Lewis XIV. produced, and may be reſembled to a ſoil that from its

happy situation bears every kind of fruit. He was not twenty years of age, when he composed the greatest part of the tragic opera of Bellerophon; after which he wrote his opera of Thetis and Peleus, in which he has greatly imitated Quinault. It was performed with great success; but his *Æneas* and *Lavinia* was not so well received. He tried his powers in tragedy, and assisted mademoiselle Bernard in some of her pieces. He composed two, one of which was played in 1680, but never printed. This piece drew upon him for a long time very unjust reproaches; for he had merit enough to be sensible, that notwithstanding his extensive genius, he was not possessed of the talents of his uncle Peter Corneille for tragedy. He wrote several detached pieces, in which there appeared a depth of knowledge and ingenuity, that plainly discover a man superior to his own works. In his *Dialogues of the Dead* and in his verses we may remark the spirit of Voiture, but much more extensive and philosophical. His *Plurality of Worlds* was a performance singular in its kind. He had the art of making an agreeable book of the *Oracles of Vandale*. The delicate subjects which are touched upon in that work subjected him to some underhand persecutions, which however he had the good fortune to get the better of. He perceived how dangerous it is to be in the right in those things where men of power and interest are in the wrong. He then applied himself to geometry and natural philosophy, in which he succeeded with as much ease as he had done in the more pleasing arts. Being appointed perpetual secretary to the academy of sciences, he exercised that employ for upwards of forty years with

universal approbation. In his history of that academy, he frequently throws a strong light upon the most obscure memoirs. He was the first who introduced that elegant manner of treating the sciences. If he is in some places too flowery, we should consider them as rich harvests wherein flowers naturally grow up with the corn.

His history of the Academy of Sciences would be as useful as it is judiciously executed, if his only task had been to give an account of truths brought to light ; but he was obliged to explain different opinions that contradicted each other, and which are for the most part destroyed.

The elogiums which he pronounced on the deceased members of the Academy have the singular merit of rendering the sciences respectable, and of establishing the merit of the author. In vain have the abbé des Fontaines, and others of his stamp, attempted to obscure his reputation ; it is the property of great men to have contemptible enemies. Notwithstanding his having lately published a few indifferent comedies, and an Apology for the Vortices of Descartes, we will readily pardon the faults in his dramatic pieces, on account of his great age ; and his Cartesian principles, in consideration of those antient opinions having been when he was young the general received ones of all Europe.

In a word, he is considered as the head of those who have the pleasing art of throwing new lights and graces upon the abstract sciences. He has likewise great merit in every other species which he has undertaken. These great

talents were supported by a knowledge of languages and history; and he was without contradiction superior to all the learned men who have not had the gift of invention.

Forbin (Claud, chevalier de.) He was chef-d'escadre, or commodore in the French navy, and high-admiral to the king of Siam. He has left some curious memoirs, which have been digested and published, by which a judgment may be formed between him and Gué Trouin.

La Fosse (Anthony) was born in 1658. *Manlius* is his best dramatical piece. He died in 1708.

Fraquier (Claud) was born at Paris in 1666. He was well versed in literature, and had a great share of taste. He wrote only a few Latin verses, and some dissertations. He died in 1728.

Furetiere (Anthony) was born in 1620. He was famous for his dictionary and his disputes. He died in 1688.

Gaçon (Francis) was born at Lyons in 1667. Father Nicéron has given him a place in his catalogue of illustrious men, tho' he was never famous for any thing but some bad satires. He had a great share in that collection of gross jokes, called *Brevets de la calotte*. These indecent productions took their rise from a certain society, called the regiment of fools, and of the calotte. This is certainly no part of good taste. These works, and their authors, are held in the utmost contempt by all well-bred people, and are never quoted but to inspire an abhorrence of their examples. He died in 1725.

Galant (Anthony) was born in Picardy, in 1646. He learned the Oriental languages at Constantinople, and translated part of the Arabian

bian tales, known by the title of the hundred and one nights. He died in 1715.

Gallois (John, abbot of) was born at Paris, in 1632. He was a man of universal learning, and the first who worked at the *Journal des sçavans*, with the counsellor-clerk Sallo, who first formed the plan of that work. He afterwards taught Colbert, the minister of state, a little Latin, who, notwithstanding his many occupations, thought he had time enough to spare for learning that language. He took the greatest part of his lessons in his coach, in his journies from Versailles to Paris. It is said he did it with a view of being made chancellor, which is not unlikely. It is worthy of observation, that the two persons, who were the greatest patrons of learning, namely, Lewis XIV. and Monsieur Colbert, neither of them understood Latin. He died in 1707.

Gassendi (Peter) was born in Provence, in 1592. He was the restorer of part of the Epicurean system of natural philosophy. He perceived the necessity of atoms, and of a vacuum; and what he affirmed, Newton and others have since demonstrated. He was not in so great reputation as Descartes, because he was more rational, and no inventor of hypotheses: nevertheless he was accused of atheism, as well as Descartes. Some imagined, that he who would, with Epicurus, admit a vacuum; would, like him, deny the existence of a God. This is the way of reasoning of all detractors and calumniators. In Provence, where there was no one jealous of him, Gassendi was called the holy priest. At Paris, the voice of envy gave him the title of atheist. It is true that he was a

sceptic, and that philosophy had taught him to doubt of every thing, but not of the existence of a supreme being. He died in 1656.

Gédouin, canon of the holy chapel at Paris. He was author of an excellent translation of Quintilian and Pausanias. He died in 1744.

Le Gendre (Lewis) was born at Rouen, in 1655. He has composed a history of France. To execute such a task well, requires the pen and freedom of the president de Thou, and even then it would be difficult to render the first ages interesting. He died in 1733.

Genest (Charles Claud.) He was born in 1635: he was almoner to the dutchess of Orleans, and both a philosopher and a poet: his tragedy of Penelope is still played with success, and is the only one of his dramatic pieces that has kept its ground on the stage: his laborious work of Descartes's philosophy in verse, or rather in rhyme, is a greater proof of his patience than his genius; and he resembled Lucretius in nothing but having versified a philosophy erroneous in almost every part of its system: he partook of the bounty of Lewis XIV. died in 1719.

Girard (abbé). His book of *Synonima* is a very useful work, and will last as long as language, and even contribute to preserve it.

Godcau (Anthony). He was one of those who helped to establish the French Academy: he was a poet, an orator, and an historian. It is well known that for the sake of a pun, and in reward for his having rendered the *Benedicite* into verse, cardinal Richelieu gave him the bishopric of Grasse: his Ecclesiastical History in prose is more valued than his poem on the Church

Church Calendar : he was greatly deceived in thinking to equal the *Fasti* of Ovid ; neither his subject nor his genius being sufficient for it. It is a great mistake to think subjects of Christianity as fit for poetry as those of Paganism, whose mythology, as pleasing as it was false, animated all nature : he died in 1672.

Godefroi (Theodore) son to Denis, or Dionysius Godefroi, the Parisian : he was born at Geneva in 1580 : he was a learned man, and historiographer of France in the reigns of Lewis XIII. and XIV. he applied himself particularly to titles and ceremonies : he died in 1649.

Godefroi (Dennis) his son, was born at Paris in 1615 : he was historiographer of France as well as his father : he died in 1681.

Gombauld (John Ogier de). Though born in the reign of Charles IX. he lived a long time after Lewis XIV. came to the crown. There are some good epigrams of his, of which a few still continue to be repeated. He died in 1666.

Gomberville (Marin) was born at Paris in 1600. He was one of the first members of the academy. He wrote some voluminous romances before the reign of good taste, and his reputation died with him in 1674.

Gondi, (John Francis) Cardinal de Retz, was born in 1613. He lived like Cataline in his youth, and Atticus in his old age. Several passages in his memoirs are worthy Sallust ; but the whole is not alike good. He died in 1679.

Gourville, from valet de chambre to the duke of Rochefoucault, became his friend, and even that of the great Condé. He was at the same time hanged in effigie at Paris, and appointed the
king's

king's envoy in Germany, and afterwards proposed as successor to the great Colbert in the ministry. We have memoirs of his life, written by himself, in a natural and unaffected style, wherein he speaks of his birth and fortunes with indifference.

Le Grand (Joachim) was born in Normandy in 1653. He was a pupil of father le Cointe. He is one of the most profound historians we have. He died in 1732.

Grécour, Canon of Tours. His poem of Philotanus had prodigious success. The chief merit of these kinds of pieces is generally in the choice of the subject, and the maliciousness of the human heart: not but that there are some good verses in this poem. The beginning is extremely happy, but the end is not at all answerable. The devil does not speak near so pleasantly as when he is first introduced. The style is low, uniform, void of dialogue, grace, ingenuity, purity, imagination, or expression; and in short is only a satirical history of the bull Unigenitus in burlesque verse, of which some lines are extremely diverting.

Guerret (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1641. He was known in his time by his *Parnassus* reformed, and his war of the authors. He had taste; but his discourse "Whether the empire of eloquence is greater than that of love," must not be taken as a proof of it. He composed the journal du Palais, in conjunction with Blondeau. This journal is a collection of arrets of the French parliaments, which are frequently different decrees in causes of the same nature. Nothing is a stronger proof how much our practice of law
stands

stands in need of being preferred than that there is a necessity of collecting decrees. He died in 1688.

Du Guet (James Joseph) was born at Forez, in 1649. He was one of the best writers the Jansenists had in their party. His book on the education of a king was not composed for the king of Sardinia, as has been said: it was finished by another hand. Du Guet has formed his style on that of the best writers of Port-Royal. He might like them have done great service to literature. Three volumes upon five and twenty chapters of Isaiah, plainly shew that he was no niggard of his time nor pen. He died in 1733.

Du Gue-Trouin, from a private adventurer became lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France. He was one of the greatest men in his way. He has left us memoirs written in the style of a soldier, and very proper to excite emulation in his countrymen.

Du Halde, the Jesuit, without stirring out of Paris, or having ever seen China, has, from the memoirs of his fraternity, given the best and most ample description of the Chinese empire that is in the world. He died in 1743.

Our insatiable curiosity for knowing every minute particular relating to the religion, laws, and manners of the Chinese, is not yet satisfied: a burgomaster of Middlebourg, named Hudde, a man of great fortune, guided wholly by his curiosity, took a voyage to China, in the year 1700, where he laid out the greatest part of his fortune in informing himself of every thing. He became so perfect a proficient in the Chinese language, that he was taken for a
native

native of that country: luckily for him his face favoured the mistake. After some time he found means to be raised to the rank of a mandarin, in which quality he travelled through all the provinces, and at length returned to Europe, with a collection of forty years observations. Unhappily, the ship they were on board was cast away, which was the greatest loss that ever befel the republic of letters.

Du Hamel (John Baptist) of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was secretary to the academy of sciences. He was a philosopher, and at the same time a divine. The improvements that have been made in philosophy since his time, take away some part of the merit of his writings; but his name still remains. He died in 1706.

Count Hamilton, (Anthony) He was born at Caen. He wrote several pretty pieces of poetry, and was the first who made romances in the comical taste, which is widely different from the burlesque of Scarron. His memoirs of the count of Grammont, is of all productions of the kind that, wherein the slightest foundation is set off with the gayest, most lively, and most agreeable stile.

Hardouin (John) a Jesuit, deeply learned in history; but chimerical in his notions. "We are not to enquire, says Montagne, who knows the most, but who knows the best." Hardouin carried his extravagance so far as to pretend that the *Æneis* and the odes of Horace were written by monks, in the thirteenth century. He will have it that *Æneas* is Jesus Christ, and Horace's mistress, Lalage, the christian

stian religion. The same discernment which discovered to father Hardouin the Messiah in *Æneas*, made him likewise see atheists in the fathers Thomassin, Quênél, Mallebranche, Arnauld, Nicolle, and Pascal. His folly took away all sting from his calumny: but as all those who revive this charge of atheism against men of learning, are not known fools, it may frequently prove dangerous. We have had instances of several who have abused their office, by using these arms, against which there is no shield, in order to work the ruin of persons of merit, with a weak prince.

Hecquet. He was a physician. In the year 1722, he published his rational system of Trituration, an ingenious theory, but does not account for the manner in which digestion is made. Other physicians have added, in their explanations, the gastric juice and the heat of the viscera; but no one has been able to find out this secret of nature, who conceals herself in all her operations.

Helvetius, a famous physician, who has written excellently upon the animal oeconomy and fevers. He died in the year 1750.

Hénaut, known by his Sonnet of the Avorton, and several other pieces; and who would have acquired a great share of reputation, if the three first cantos of his translation of Lucretius that were lost, had appeared, and written like what we have left of the beginning of that work. He died in 1682.

Posterity must not confound this writer with another of the same name, but of much superior merit, to whom we are indebted for the shortest
and

and best history of France; and perhaps for the only method in which all great histories ought to be written for the future. For so great is the multiplicity of facts and documents, that we must very soon be reduced to extracts and dictionaries. But it will be very difficult to imitate the author of the chronological abridgment, who has gone to the bottom of so many things, and seemed at the same time only to touch upon them slightly.

Herbelot (Bartholomew) was born at Paris in 1625. He was the first Frenchman who thoroughly understood the oriental languages, and history. He was at first taken little notice of in his own country. Ferdinand II. grand duke of Tuscany, received him with marks of distinction, and taught France to know his merit. Then he was recalled and encouraged by Colbert, who was the patron of all merit. His *Bibliothèque Orientale* is equally curious and learned: he died in 1695.

Hermant (Godfrey) was born at Beauvais in 1617: he was author of some polemical works, which perished with the disputes that gave them birth: he died in 1690.

La Hire (Philip) was born at Paris in 1740: he was son to a good painter: he was himself a great mathematician, and contributed much to the famous French meridian: he died in 1718.

L'Hopital. (Francis marquis of) He was born in 1662: he was the first who wrote in France on the calculation of infinites found out by Sir Isaac Newton. This was a prodigy at that time: he died in 1704.

D'Hofier

D'Hofier (Peter) was the son of an advocate, and born at Marseilles in 1592: he was the first who cleared up the account of genealogies, and reduced them to a science. Lewis XIII. made him gentleman in waiting, master of his household, and gentleman in ordinary of his chamber. Lewis XIV. gave him a patent of counsellor of state. Several truly great men have been much less rewarded. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity: he died in 1660.

Des Houlières. (Antonieta de la Garde) Of all the French ladies who have applied themselves to poetry, no one has succeeded so well as this; for her verses still continue to be repeated by every one: she died in 1694.

Huet (Peter Daniel) was born at Caen in 1630: he was a man of universal learning, and retained the same ardour for study till the age of ninety-one: he was invited to Stockholm by queen Christina, and was afterwards one of those illustrious personages who assisted in the education of the dauphin, than whom no prince had ever so great masters. Huet turned priest when he was forty years of age, and had the bishopric of Avranches given him, which he afterwards resigned, that he might be more at leisure to pursue his studies in retirement. Of all his productions, "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, and the Origin of Romances," are the most read. His treatise on the weakness of the human understanding made a great noise, and seemed to contradict his "Evangelical Demonstrations:" he died in 1721.

Jaquelot (Isaac) was born in Champagne in 1647: he was a Calvinist, and pastor at the Hague, and at Berlin. He has written some pieces on religion: he died in 1708.

Foli (Gui) counsellor at the Châtelet, and secretary to cardinal de Retz: he has left some memoirs, which are in comparison with those written by the cardinal, what the servant is to the master: but there are some curious particulars.

Jourveney, (Joseph) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1643. This is another of those who have had the obscure merit of writing in Latin, as well as can be done in our time. His book *de ratione discendi & docendi*, though very little known, is one of the best that has been written on the subject since that of Quintilian. In the year 1710, he published at Rome a part of the history of his order, in which he writes like a Jesuit and one who had been at Rome. The parliament of Paris, who think very differently from Rome and the Jesuits, condemned this book, in which is a defence of father Guignard, who had been condemned to be hanged by this very parliament for an assassination, committed on the person of Henry IV. by his scholar Châtel. It is very true that Guignard was in no wise an accomplice in this murder, and that he met with hard usage from the parliament; but it is equally true that this severity was necessary in those unhappy times, where a part of Europe, blinded by the most horrible fanaticism, thought it an act of religion to murder the best of kings and the best of men. He died in 1716.

De L'Isle (William) was born at Paris in 1675 : he reformed geography, which had for a long time stood in need of improvement : he changed the whole position of our hemisphere as to longitude : he taught geometry to Lewis XV. who has proved one of his best pupils : that monarch having composed, after the death of his master, a Treatise on the Course of Rivers. William de L'Isle was the first who had the title of chief geographer to the king. He died in 1726.

Labbe (Philip) was born at Bourges in 1607 : he was a Jesuit : he has done great services to history : he has left seventy-three pieces of his writing. He died in 1667.

Le Laboureur (John) was born at Montmorency in 1623 : he was gentleman in waiting to Lewis XIV. and afterwards almoner : his account of the voyage to Poland, which he made with the marshall's de Guébriant, the only woman that ever had the title, and executed the functions of an ambassador plenipotentiary, is very curious. The historical remarks with which he has enriched the Memoirs of Castelnau have thrown a great light upon the history of France. The wretched poem called Charlemagne, was not written by him, but by his brother. He died in 1675.

Lainé, or *Lainex* (Alexander) was born in Hainault in 1650 : he was an extraordinary poet, and some little pieces of his, very happily written, have been collected. A certain person, who was at great pains and expence to have a Mount Parnassus made in bronze, and covered with figures in relievo, of all the poets and musicians that came into his head, has placed Lainé

in

in the rank of the most illustrious. The only truly delicate verses of his that we have, are those written on madame de Martel.

*Le tendre Apelle un jour dans ces jeux si vantés
Qu' Athènes sur ses bords consacrait à Neptune,
Vit au sortir de l'onde éclater cent beautés,
Et prenant un trait de chacune,
Il fit de sa Venus le portrait immortel.
Hélas ! s'il avait vu l'adorable Martel,
Il n'en aurait employé qu'une.*

To Neptune when the Isthmian games of yore,
Were solemniz'd on the Athenian shore,
An hundred nymphs in blooming youth array'd,
Uprising from the wave, their charms display'd.
From each a shining feature fam'd Apelles chose,
And an immortal Venus from his pencil rose :
But had Martel once met his ravish'd eye,
Her heav'nly form alone would all those charms
supply.

It may not be known perhaps that these lines are a translation of this beautiful passage in Ariosto,

*Non avea da torre altra, &c.**

He died in 1710.

Lambert

* We shall give the whole stanza, for the entertainment of the reader. Ariosto, speaking of Olympia, whom Orlando delivered from the sea-monster, says,

*E se fosse costei stata à Crotone,
Quando Zeus l'immagine far volse,
Che per dovea nel tempio di Giunone,
E tante belle nude insieme accolse,
E chè per una farne in perfezzione,
Da chi una parte, e da chi un'altra tolse;*

Non

Lambert (Anne Theresa de Marguenat de Courcelles, marchioness of) was born in 1647, and was a lady of great wit and understanding. She has left some useful pieces of morality, written in an agreeable stile. Her treatise on Friendship shews her deserving of having friends. The number of ladies who have been shining ornaments to this glorious age, is one of the greatest proofs of the progress of human understanding.

*La donne son venute in eccellenza,
Di ciascun' arte ove hanno posto cura.* Ariost.

The ladies then to excellence attain'd,
In ev'ry curious art they chose to learn.

He died at Paris in 1703.

Lami (Barnard) was born at Mons in 1640 : he belonged to the oratory : he was learned in more than one science : he composed his Elements of the Mathematics in a journey that he made on foot from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

Lancelot (Claud). He was born at Paris in 1615 : he had a hand in several very useful pro-

*Non avea da torre altra, che costei,
Che tutte le bellezze erano in lei.*

And had Olympia to Crotona stray'd,
When Zeuxis first imagin'd his design,
That piece in Juno's fane to be display'd,
And many naked beauties did combine ;
That in perfection it might be array'd,
From each to cull some lineament divine ;
He would have fix'd his eyes on her alone ;
For, ev'ry charm in her united shone.

Orland. Furios. Cant. xi.

ductions

ductions of the recluses of Port-royal, for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

De Larrey (Isaac) was born in Normandy in 1638: his *History of England* was much esteemed before that of Rapin made its appearance; but his *History of Lewis XIV.* had never any reputation. He died at Berlin in 1719.

Launai (Francis) was born at Angers in 1612: he was a civilian, and a man of letters: he was the first who taught the French law at Paris. He died in 1693.

Launoy (John) was born in Normandy in 1603: he was a doctor in theology: he was a laborious scholar, and an intrepid critic: he detected a great many errors in religion, particularly that relating to saints, whose existence he denied. It is well known that the curate of St. Eustachius said, he always paid him the greatest respect, for fear he should take his St. Eustachius from him. He died in 1678.

Lauriere (Eusebius) was born at Paris in 1659: he was a lawyer, and no one better understood jurisprudence and the origin of laws: he was the person who formed the collection of ordinances, an immense work which did great honour to the reign of Lewis XIV. and is a monument of the mutability of all human things. A collection of ordinances is only a history of variations. He died in 1728.

Le Clerc (John) was born at Geneva in 1657; but his family was originally of Beauvais: he was not the only learned man of his family, but he was the most learned: his *Bibliothèque Universelle*, in which he has imitated Bayle's *Republic of Letters*, is his best performance: his greatest merit is, that he came near to Bayle, whom

whom he had so frequently attacked : he wrote a great deal more than that great man ; but he was not like him acquainted with the art of pleasing and instructing at the same time, which is so much superior to all science. He died at Amsterdam in 1736.

Leinery (Nicholas) was born at Rouen in 1645 : he was the first rational chemist, and the first who published a General Pharmacopœia. He died in 1715.

Lenfant (James) was born at Beaufle in 1661 : he was a Calvinist pastor at Berlin : he was more instrumental than any one in carrying the energy and beauties of the French tongue to the most distant parts of Germany : his History of the Council of Constance, judiciously revised and elegantly written, will be a proof to latest posterity how much good and evil may arise from these great assemblies, and that good laws may be produced even from the midst of passions, self-interest, and cruelty itself. He died in 1692.

Des Lions (John) was born at Pontoise in 1615 : he was a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man singular in his way, and author of several polemical pieces : he attempted to prove that the rejoicings on the feast of the Epiphany or Twelfth Day were profane, and that the world was soon to be at an end. He died in 1700.

Le Long (James) was born at Paris in 1655 : he was of the Oratory. His *Bibliothèque Historique de la France* is a very learned work, and of great utility, though it has some faults. He died in 1721.

Longepierre (Hilary-Barnard, baron of). He was born in Burgundy in 1658 : he was master

of all the beauties of the Greek language; a very rare degree of merit in his time. We have some translations by him in verse of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, and Moschus: his tragedy of Medea, though unequally written, and too full of declamations, is far superior to that of Peter Corneille: but Corneille's Medea was written before he was at the height of his reputation. Longepierre composed several other tragedies upon the model of the Greek poets, whom he has happily imitated in not blending love with subjects of terror and cruelty; but at the same time he has copied them in the tediousness of their common places, and in the barrenness of action and intrigue, and not equalled them in beauty of elocution, which constitutes the greatest merit of a poet. Though he wrote several other tragedies in the Greek taste, he gave only Medea and Electra to the stage. He died in 1727.

De Longuerue (Lewis du Four) was born at Charleville in 1652: he was abbot of Jard. Besides knowing all the learned languages, he was master of all those spoken in Europe. A few years labour and application may be sufficient to attain a middling knowledge of several languages; but it is the labour of a whole life to speak one's own with purity and eloquence: he understood universal history; and it is said, that he composed the Historical and Geographical Description of antient and modern France. He died about the year 1724.

Longueval (James) a Jesuit, was born in 1681: he composed eight volumes of the History of the Gallican Church, which was afterwards continued by father Fontenay. He died in 1735.

De la Loubere (Simon) was born at Toulouse in 1642, and sent envoy to Siam in 1677: he has left us memoirs of that country, which are much better than his sonnets and odes. He died in 1729.

Mabillon (John) was born in Champagne in 1632: he was a Benedictine: he had the office of shewing the treasury of St. Denis, which he desired to resign, giving for his reason, "that he did not chuse to mix fables with truth." He made several very learned researches, and was employed by Colbert in enquiring into antient titles. He died in 1707.

Maignan (Emanuel) was born at Toulouse in 1601: he was a Minime friar, and one of those who have learnt the mathematics without a master: he was a mathematical professor at Rome, where this professorship has ever since his time continued with the French Minims. He died at Toulouse in 1677.

Maillet. He was consul at Grand Cairo: there are some instructive letters of his, relating to Egypt, and some MS. pieces of bold philosophy.

Maimbourg (Lewis) a Jesuit, was born in 1610. There are some of his histories still read with pleasure: he was too much cry'd up at first, and too much neglected at last. It is very remarkable that he was obliged to quit the order for having wrote in favour of the clergy of France. He died at St. Victor in 1686.

Mainard (Francis) president of Aurillac, was born at Toulouse in 1634. He may be reckoned in the number of those who ushered in the age of Lewis XIV. There are several pieces of poetry of his remaining, all written with great ease

and purity : he is one of those authors who has made the greatest complaints of the ill fortune attending talents, not knowing that the success of a good work is of itself a sufficient recompence to an artist ; that if princes and ministers make a merit of rewarding this kind of desert, there is still greater merit in waiting for their favours without asking ; and that if a good writer is ambitious of an elevated fortune, he ought to be the architect of it himself.

Nothing is more commonly known than his beautiful sonnet addressed to cardinal de Richelieu, and that minister's harsh reply, the cruel monosyllable *rien* (nothing). The president Mainard, after he retired to Aurillac, made the following lines, which deserve to be as well known as his sonnet.

*Par vôtre humeur le monde est gouverné,
Vos volontés font le calme & l'orage,
Vous vous riez de me voir confiné
Loin de la Cour dans mon petit ménage :
Mais, n'est-ce rien que d'être tout à soi,
De n'avoir point le fardeau d'un Emploi,
D'avoir dompté la crainte & l'espérance ?
Ah ! si le Ciel, qui me traite si bien,
Avait pitié de vous & de la France,
Vôtre bonheur serait égal au mien.*

To your caprice the willing world's resign'd ;
Both storm and calm your will and pleasure wait :
You laugh to see me in a farm confin'd,
And think me wretched in my humble fate.
'Tis something still my freedom to enjoy ;
Nor groan beneath the weight of an employ ;
O'er

O'er fear and hope a conquest to obtain.
 Shou'd heav'n, whose rays on me propitious shine,
 To you and France shew mercy once again,
 Your happiness would one day equal mine.

After the death of the cardinal he says in another piece, that the tyrant is dead, and yet he is not more happy. Had the cardinal been his benefactor, that minister would have been a God with him; but because he gave him nothing he was a tyrant. This is too much like those beggars who accost passengers with a "God bless your honour," and load them with curses afterwards if they get no alms from them. Mainard's verses were very beautiful; but it would have redounded more to his credit, had he lived without asking or murmuring. The epitaph which he made for himself is in every one's mouth.

*Las d'espérer & de me plaindre,
 Des Muses, des Grands & du sort,
 C'est ici que j'attends la mort,
 Sans la désirer ni la craindre.*

Tir'd of complaints, of hope, and faith,
 By fortune, friends, and Muse forsaken,
 I wait unmov'd th' approach of death,
 Nor wish, nor fear to be mistaken.

The two last lines are a translation of the old Latin one,

Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Most beautiful moral verses are but translations. It is very common not to wish for death, very rare not to fear it; and it would have been very

great not to have even thought that there were such things as great men in the world.

Maintenon (Frances d'Aubigné, Scarron, marchioness of). She is an author as well as madame de Sévigné, because her Letters have been printed after her death. Both of these ladies wrote with a great deal of spirit, but of a very different kind. The Letters of madame de Sévigné are dictated by the heart and the imagination, and are more sprightly and free. Those of madame de Maintenon, more constrained, and seem as if she had foreseen they would one day be made public. Madame de Sévigné, in writing to her daughter, wrote only for that daughter. There are several anecdotes to be found in both these collections. We may perceive in those of madame de Maintenon, that she was married to Lewis XIV. that she had considerable influence in state affairs, but that she did not direct them; that she did not hasten the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and its consequences, neither did she oppose it; that she sided with the Molinists at first, because Lewis XIV. did so, and that at length she became seriously attached to that party; that Lewis XIV. in the latter part of his life, used to carry relicks about him; with several other private anecdotes. But the little knowledge that may be gained from this collection, is too dearly bought by the number of useless letters it contains; a fault which is common to all collections of this kind. If nothing was to be printed but what is useful, there would not be by an hundredth part so many bad books. She died at St. Cyr in 1719.

Malebranche (Nicholas) of the Oratory, was born at Paris in 1638. He was one of the deepest

est meditators that ever wrote. As he abounded with that forcible imagination which makes more disciples than truth, he had his likewise in his time: there were those that went by the name of *Malebranchians*. He has admirably shewn the errors of the senses and imagination; but when he attempted to dive into the nature of the soul, he was lost in the abyss, as others had been before him. He was, like Descartes, a great man by whom very little was to be learnt. He died in 1715.

Malézieux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1650. The duke of Burgundy's Elements of Geometry are the lessons that he gave to that prince: He raised himself a great reputation by his consummate knowledge in literature, and the dutchess of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

Mailleville (Claud de) one of the first members of the Academy. The single sonnet of the *Belle Matineuse*, made a famous man of him; whereas such a piece would be hardly thought worth speaking of now 2-days. But good productions in any kind were as rare then as they are since become common. He died in 1647.

De Marca (Peter) was born in 1594. Being left a widower with several children, he entered into the church, and was nominated to the archbishopric of Paris. His book entitled *La Concorde de l'Empire & du Sacerdoce*, is much esteemed. He died in 1662.

De Marolles (Michael) was born at Touraine in 1600, and was son to the celebrated Claud de Marolles, captain of the guard of a hundred Swiss, so well known for having engaged in single combat with Marivaux, at the head of the

army of Henry IV. Michael, who was abbot of Villeloin, was author of sixty-nine works, of which several were translations, and very useful in their time. He died in 1681.

La Marre (Nicholas) was born in Paris in 1641. He was commissary of the châtelet : he was author of a piece suitable to his profession, The History of the Police, which is of use only to the people of Paris, and is better to consult than to read. As a reward, he had a pension assigned him out of the profits of the stage, which he never received. They might as well have assigned the comedians a pension out of the wages of the city watch.

Du Marfais. No one better understood the metaphysical part of grammar than himself, nor made more profound researches into the principles of languages. His book of *Tropes* is insensibly become necessary, and the whole of what he has written concerning grammar deserves to be studied. He was one of those obscure philosophers with whom Paris abounds, who judge coolly and justly of every thing, living peaceably among themselves, and keep up a rational commerce with each other, unknown to the great, and dreaded by the quacks of all kinds, who seek to lord it over weak minds. The number of these wise men is a consequence of the spirit of the age. He died in 1755.

Marfollier (James) was born at Paris in 1657. He was one of the regular canons of St. Genevieve, and is known by several historical writings, which are well executed. He died in 1724.

Martignac (Stephen) was born in 1628. He was the first who made a sufferable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I question much whether

whether they can ever be happily rendered in verse; for it is not enough to have their genius, the difference of the languages is an insurmountable obstacle. He died in 1698.

Mascaron (Julius) of Marseilles, was born in 1634. He was bishop of Tulles, and afterwards of Agen. His Funeral Orations disputed the prize with those of Bossuet at first; but now they serve only to shew how great a man the latter was. Mascaron died in 1703.

Maffillon was born in Provence in 1663. He belonged to the Oratory, and was bishop of Clermont. No preacher had a better acquaintance with the world: he was more flowery and pleasing than Bourdalouë; his eloquence was that of the courtier, the academic, and the man of wit; and what is more, he was a philosopher, moderate in his opinion, and a friend to toleration. He died in 1742.

Maucroix (Francis) was born at Noyen in 1619. He was an historian, a poet, and a man of letters.

Menage (Giles), of Angers, was born in 1633. He has given an example, that it is much easier to write Italian verses than French: his Italian poetry is esteemed even in Italy itself, and our language is greatly indebted to his curious researches: he was an adept in more than one species of learning. He died in 1692.

Menetrier (Claud Francis) was born in 1631. He has done great service to the art of heraldry, emblems, and devices: he died in 1705.

Meri (John) was born at Berry in 1645. He was one of the most eminent illustrators of surgery, and has left several very useful observations. He died in 1722.

Mezerai (Francis) was born at Argentan in Normandy in 1610. His history of France is very well known; his other writings not so much. He lost his pensions for saying what he thought was truth. In other respects, he was rather bold than exact, and his style is unequal. He died in 1683.

Mimeures (the marquis of). He was favourite to monseigneur the Dauphin, son to Lewis XIV. There are some little detached pieces of poetry of his, not at all inferior to those of Racine and Mainard: but as they appeared at a time when good writing was very scarce, and the marquis de Mimeures lived in an age when that art was brought to its perfection, they gained great reputation, and the marquis was hardly known: his Ode to Venus, imitated from Horace, is not unworthy of the original.

Le Moine (Peter), a Jesuit. He was born in 1602: his *Devotion aïssée* made him ridiculous; but he might have gained a great name by his *Louisiade*. He had a prodigious fund of imagination: how comes it then he did not succeed? Because he had neither taste, nor a knowledge of the genius of his language, and wanted a rigid friend. He died in 1671.

Moliere (John-Baptiste) was born at Paris in 1620. He was the best comic poet that any nation ever produced. This article led me to read over the comic poets of antiquity; and it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our stage with the loose and unconnected scenes of the ancients, their weak intrigues, and the indelicate custom of making their actors relate, in long, insipid, and improbable soliloquies, either what they had done, or
what

what they were going to do; it must be confessed, I say, that Moliere drew comedy from its chaos, as Corneille did tragedy; and that the French are superior, in this respect, to any nation under the sun. Moliere, again, had another kind of merit to what either Corneille, Racine, Boileau, or la Fontaine possessed: he was a philosopher, and such both in theory and practice; and yet to this philosopher was it that Harlai, archbishop of Paris, so despised on account of his morals, denied the empty honour of sepulture; and the king himself was obliged to intercede with that prelate to permit Moliere to be privately interred in the church-yard of the little chapel of St. Joseph, in the suburbs of Montmartre. He died in 1673.

The abbé *Alengaut*. The best translation of Cicero's Letters that we have is by him: it is enriched with judicious and useful notes. He had been preceptor to the son of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom.

La Monnoye (Bernard) was born at Dijon in 1641. He was an excellent literatist: he was the first who won the prize of poetry in the French academy, by his poem *du Ducl abolî*, which is, very few excepted, one of the best poetical performances that has been produced in France. He died in 1732.

Montesquieu (Charles), president of the parliament of Bourdeaux. He was born in 1689. At twenty-three years of age he published his Persian Letters, a comic work, abounding with strokes that shew an understanding more solid than his book. This work is an imitation of the *Siamese* of Du Freny and the Turkish Spy; but such an imitation as shews how the originals

ought to have been written. These kind of performances seldom succeed but by the help of a foreign air; and a satire upon our own nation is better received from the pen of an Asiatic than from that of a countryman, as what is common of itself, becomes by this means singular. The genius which reigns in the Persian Letters opened the doors of the French academy to the president Montesquieu, though that academy had itself been ill-treated in his book; but at the same time, the freedom with which he speaks of the government, and of abuses in religion, incurred the displeasure of cardinal Fleury, who ordered them to be shut against him again. He fell upon an artful method of making that minister his friend: in a few days time he caused a new edition of his book to be printed off, in which he retrenched or softened every thing that could appear exceptionable to him, either as a cardinal, or a minister of state. Monsieur de Montesquieu then waited upon his eminence in person with his book, who, though not much accustomed to read, perused some part of it. This air of confidence, supported by the good offices of some persons of credit, won over the cardinal, and Montesquieu was admitted into the academy.

After this he published his treatise on the Greatness and Fall of the Roman People; a worn-out subject, but which he made new by very ingenious reflections, and lively descriptions: so that it is a political history of the Roman empire. At length his Spirit of Laws made its appearance; a work in which there appears much more genius than either in Puffendorf or Grotius. We cannot read these authors without doing ourselves some kind of violence; but we
rend

read the Spirit of Laws as much for amusement as instruction. This book is wrote with as much freedom as the Persian Letters; and this freedom did not a little contribute to its success, by drawing upon him enemies, who increased his reputation by the hatred they brought upon themselves. These were a set of men, who, delighting in the obscure factions of ecclesiastical controversy, hold their own opinions as sacred, and those who despise them as impious and sacrilegious. They wrote with great acrimony against Montesquieu, and prevailed on the Sorbonne to examine his book; but the infamy and contempt with which his persecutors were loaded, prevented that college from proceeding any farther. The principal merit of the Spirit of Laws is that love for the laws that reigns throughout the whole work, which love is founded on that for mankind. What is most extraordinary is, that the encomiums he gives to the English government is what pleased most in France. The smart and stinging irony against the Inquisition, which is found in this work, charmed all the world, except the Inquisitors: his reflections, which are almost always profound, he supports by examples drawn from the history of all nations. It is true, that he has been reproached with taking his examples too frequently from inconsiderable savage nations, in a manner unknown, and upon the accounts of travellers, whose fidelity there is too much reason to suspect. He is not always very exact in his quotations: for instance, he makes the author of the Political Testament, ascribed to cardinal Richelieu, say, "That if there should be found among the people an honest man unfortunate, that man must not be employed;"
whereas

whereas the Political Testament, in the place quoted, only says, that it is best to employ men of fortune and education, as the least liable to be corrupted. The continual want of method throughout this work, the singular affectation of putting no more than two or three lines in a chapter, and that frequently, and those lines nothing but a piece of pleasantry, has disgusted many readers, who complain of meeting sometimes with sallies of wit where they expected arguments. This author is likewise reproached with having advanced too many doubtful ideas for certain ones; but if he does not always instruct his reader, he always sets him a-thinking, and that is no small degree of merit. His lively and ingenious manner of expression, in which we trace the imagination of his countryman Montaigne, has, above all, contributed to the great reputation of the Spirit of Laws: the same thing said by a man of equal or even superior learning to him, would not have been read. In short, there is not any work in which there is more wit, and a greater number of learned ideas and bold things; or where a reader can find more opportunities for instruction, whether he approves or condemns his opinions. We may, with justice, rank this in the number of original works that were an ornament to the age of Lewis XIV. and which have no model in antiquity. He died in 1755, like a philosopher, as he had lived.

Montfaucon (Bernard) was born in 1655. He was a Benedictine, and one of the most learned antiquarians in Europe. He died in 1741.

Montpensier (Anna-Maria-Louisa of Orleans), known by the name of Mademoiselle. She was daughter to Gaston duke of Orleans, and was born

born at Paris in 1627. Her Memoirs are rather those of a woman full of herself, than a princess who had been witness to great events; but there are several things very curious. She died in 1693.

Montreuil (Matthew de). He is one of those pleasing and easy writers, which the age of Lewis XIV. produced in great numbers, and who all succeeded in the middling way; but the spirit of the times, and imitation, have made many agreeable authors.

Moreri (Lewis) was born in Provence in 1643. It was little expected that the author of the Country of Love, and the translator of Rodriguez, would in his youthful days undertake the first Dictionary of Facts that had ever appeared. This laborious undertaking cost him his life. This work, which has been greatly improved and augmented, bears his name, but is no longer his. It is a new edifice, built upon the old plan. The many suspicious genealogies have greatly injured the character of this otherwise useful work. He died in 1680. There has been a supplement published, which is full of errors.

Morin (Michael-John-Baptist) was born at Beaujolois in 1583. He was a physician, a mathematician, and, through the prejudice of the times, an astrologer. He drew the horoscope of Lewis XIV. Notwithstanding his quackery, he was a man of learning. He died in 1656.

Morin (John) was born at Blois in 1591. He was very learned in the oriental languages, and in criticism. He died at the Oratory in 1659.

Morin (Simon) was born in Normandy in 1623. We mention him here only to deplore his fatal folly, and that of Saint-Sorlin Desmarets, his accuser.

cufer. Saint-Sorlin was a fanatic, who informed againft another. Morin, who deferved only to be fent to a mad-houfe, was burnt alive in 1663, before philofophy had made fufficient progrefs to prevent learned men from dogmatizing, and judges from being cruel.

La Motte-Houdart (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1672. He was famous by his writings, and amiable in his manners: he had many friends, that is to fay, people who were pleafed with his company; but I was with him in his laft moments, and faw him expire without a creature by his bed-fide. This was in 1731.

The fole regard to truth obliges me here to transgreff the ufual bounds of thefe articles.

This man, who was fo gentle in his manners, and who never gave any one, when living, the leaft fubject of complaint, was, after his death, accused, almoft in a judicial manner, of an enormous crime; no lefs than that of having been the author of thofe horrible couplets which proved the ruin of Rouffeau in 1710; and of having, for feveral years, directed the whole fcheme that occafioned the condemnation of an innocent man. This accusation comes with fo much more weight, as being made by a perfon who was intimately acquainted with the affair, and who drew it up in the nature of a laft will and teftament. N. Boindin, attorney-general to the treafurers of France, when he died, in 1752, left behind him a very circumftantial memorial, in which, after a filence of forty years, he accuses *La Motte-Houdart* of the French academy, *Joseph Saurin* of the academy of fciences, and one *Malafaire* a merchant, of framing this villainous design, and the chatelet and the parliament.

ment of having successively awarded the most unjust sentences. But,

First, If N. Boindin was actually persuaded of the innocence of Rousseau, why did he delay so long to make it known? At least, why did he not publish it immediately after the death of his enemies; and why did he not present this memorial, which had lain written by him upwards of twenty years?

2dly, Is it not obvious, that Boindin's memorial is no other than a defamatory libel, and that this man entertained an equal hatred to every one whom he mentions in this information intended for posterity?

3dly, He sets out with facts which every one knows to be false. He pretends that the count de Nocé, and N. Melon, the regent's secretary, were associates with Malafaire, a petty jeweller-merchant. Every one who was acquainted with these people know this to be a flagrant calumny. He afterwards confounds N. la Faye, secretary of the king's closet, with his brother the captain of the guards. Lastly, how can a jeweller be supposed to have had a share in all this scheme of the couplets?

4thly, Boindin pretends that this jeweller, and Saurin the geometrician, joined with La Motte to prevent Rousseau from obtaining Boileau's pension, who was still living in 1710. Could it be possible for three persons of such different professions to join together, and meditate so deep a scheme, one so infamous in itself, and so difficult in its execution as that of depriving a citizen, then in obscurity, of a pension which was not even vacant, that Rousseau would never have
had,

had, and to which neither of the three associates had any pretensions?

5thly, After having agreed that Rousseau had written the five first couplets, which precede those that occasioned his disgrace, he makes La Motte-Houdart suspected as author of a dozen others in the same taste; and, as the sole proof of this accusation, he says, that these twelve couplets, which were satires upon a like number of persons who used to meet at the house of N. Villiers, were brought by La Motte-Houdart himself to that gentleman's house, an hour after Rousseau had been informed that the persons in question were to meet there. Now, says he, Rousseau had not above an hour's time to compose and transcribe these defamatory verses. La Motte was the person who brought them to Villiers; therefore La Motte must be the author. On the contrary, methinks, his openness in carrying them thither might be a presumption that he was not guilty of writing them. They were thrown at his door, as they were at those of several other persons: he opened the paper they were inclosed in, and found them full of the blackest invectives against all his friends, and himself likewise; upon which he immediately went and made the discovery. This has all the air of innocence.

6thly, It is necessary that those who interest themselves in this mystery of iniquity should be informed, that within little more than a month there had been a meeting of friends at the house of N. Villiers, most part of whom were the same persons that Rousseau had already abused in five satirical couplets, which he had imprudently repeated to different people. The very first of
these

these twelve new couplets sufficiently shews, that the parties in question used to meet sometimes at the coffee-house, and sometimes at monsieur de Villiers.

*Sots assemblés chez de Villiers,
Parmi les sots troupe d'élite,
D'un vil caffè dignes piliers,
Craignez la fureur qui m'irrite.
Je vai vous poursuivre en tous lieux,
Vous noircir, vous rendre odieux.
Je veux que partout on vous chante;
Vous percer & rire à vos yeux
Est une douceur que m'enchanté.*

Ye fools, that grace the house of Villiers,
Imperial folly's chosen band,
Of a blind coffee-house the worthy pillars,
Revere and dread my chaff'ning hand.
Your hated steps my vengeance shall pursue,
And drag your sully'd fame to public view.
You shall be stigmatiz'd in ev'ry part:
To laugh and ridicule your motley crew
Shall be the darling pleasure of my heart.

7thly, It is intirely false that the five first couplets, which were known to be Rousseau's, were only a slight piece of ridicule upon five or six private persons, as the memorialist asserts. There is the same malignity in them as in the others.

*Que le bourreau par son valet
Fasse un jour serrer le sifflet
De Berrin & de sa sequelle;
Que Pecour qui fait le ballet
Ait le fouet au pied de l'échelle.*

May Ketch, by dint of hempen rope,
 The noisy pipe of Berrin stop,
 Of him and all his squawling train;
 And may Pecour, who made the hop,
 Be flogg'd 'till he is dy'd in grain.

Such is the file of the five first couplets owned by Rousseau, and certainly this is not very delicate raillery. It is exactly in the same file with the others which followed.

8thly, As to the last couplets, to the same air that, in 1710, occasioned a prosecution to be brought against Saurin of the academy of sciences, the memorialist says nothing more than what the printed case informed us of long ago; only he is of opinion, that the wretch who was sentenced to be banished, for having been suborned by Rousseau, ought to have been condemned to the galleys, if he had really given false testimony. In this, however, monsieur Boindin is mistaken; for, in the first place, it would have been a ridiculous piece of injustice to have condemned the person suborned to the galleys, when only banishment was inflicted on the suborner: and in the second place, this unhappy wretch did not appear as the accuser of Saurin. Besides, he could not have been absolutely suborned; for he gave in several contradictory declarations; and the nature of his fault, and the weakness of his understanding, did not allow of an exemplary punishment.

9thly, N. Boindin gives us expressly to understand in his memorial, that the family of Noailles and the Jesuits assisted to ruin Rousseau in this affair; and that Saurin employed all his credit and interest for that purpose. I myself know of
 a cer-

a certainty, and several persons now living know it as well as myself, that neither the Noailles's family, nor the Jesuits, solicited any such thing. As to interest, that was at first intirely on the side of Rousseau ; for, notwithstanding that the general cry was against him, he had gained two secretaries of state, namely, monsieur de Pontchartrain and monsieur de Voisin, who were not at all intimidated by this cry. It was in consequence of their orders, in form of solicitations, that the lieutenant-criminal, Le Comte, caused Saurin to be seized and thrown into prison, interrogated, confronted, and cross-examined, and all within four and twenty hours. The chancellor reprimanded the lieutenant-criminal, for so precipitate and unprecedented a procedure.

As to the Jesuits, it is so far from being true that they declared themselves against Rousseau, that immediately after the contradictory sentence of the chatêlet, by which he was unanimously condemned, he retired to the noviciate of the Jesuits, under the direction of father Sanadon, at the time he was appealing to the parliament. This retreat of his to the Jesuits proves two things ; first, that they were not his enemies ; and secondly, that he wanted to oppose the shew of religion to the accusation of libertinism brought against him. He had already written his best psalms, at the same time with his licentious epigrams, which he called the *Gloria Patri* to his psalms ; upon which Danchet addressed him in the following lines :

*A te masquer habile,
Traduis tour à tour*

*Petrone à la ville,
David à la Cour, &c.*

In pious fraud so witty,
Translating for thy sport,
Petronius in the city,
And David's psalms at court.

It would not, therefore, be in the least surprising, that having, like many others, put on the cloak of religion, while he continued to wear that of the cynick, he should have kept the first, which was now become absolutely necessary to him. We shall draw no consequence from this induction, as the heart of man is known to God alone.

10thly, It is of consequence to observe, during upwards of thirty years, that La Motte-Houdart, Saurin, and Malafaire, lived after this prosecution, not one of them was ever suspected of the least wicked scheme, or the slightest satire. La Motte-Houdart never so much as made any reply to the black invectives contained in the Calotes, and other lampoons under different titles, with which one or two men, who were detested by all the world, loaded him for a long time. He never disgraced his talents by satire; and when in 1709, after having been perpetually insulted by Rousseau, he made this beautiful ode :

*On ne se choisit point son père ;
Par un reproche populaire
Le sage n'est point abatu.
Oui, quoi que le vulgaire pense,
Rousseau, la plus vile naissance
Donne du lustre à la vertu, &c.*

The son his parent does not chuse :
 By groundless clamour and abuse,
 The wife will never be dejected.
 Whate'er the vulgar may opine,
 Rousseau, the meanest birth will shine,
 By sacred virtue's rays reflected.

When he wrote this piece, I say, it was rather as a lesson of morality and philosophy than a satire. He therein exhorts Rousseau, who deny'd his father, not to be ashamed of his birth, and advises him to get the better of the spirit of envy and satire. Nothing can be more unlike that rage which breathes in the couplets of which he is accused.

But Rousseau, after his condemnation, which should have made him more prudent, whether he had been innocent or culpable, could not get the better of his inclination. He frequently abused those very persons in epigrams whom he had attacked in his couplets, namely, La Faye, Danchet, La Motte-Houdart, &c. He made verses against his old and new protectors, some of which are to be found in those letters of his, which so ill deserved to be made public; and most part of these verses are in the same stile as the couplets, for which he was condemned by the parliament, witness the following against that illustrious musician Rameau.

*Disillateurs d'accords baroques,
 Dont tant d'idiots son ferus,
 Chez les Thraces & les Iroques
 Portez vos Opera boursus, &c.*

Ye that distil discordant strains,
So grateful to an idiot ear,
Among the savage Indian swains,
Your inharmonious concerts bear.

Others in the same taste are to be found in the collection entitled, Rousseau's Pocket-book, against the abbé d'Olivet, who had formed a scheme to have him recalled home. In short, even in the latter part of his life, when he came to hide himself in Paris under the mask of devotion, he could not forbear still making these abusive epigrams. It is true, that age had impaired his stile, but without reforming his disposition, either because by an unaccountable medley of opinions, not uncommon among men, he made this heinous spirit of abuse a part of his devotion, or that by a wickedness no less common, this devotion was only hypocrisy.

11thly, If Saurin, La Motte, and Malafaire, had really plotted the crime of which they were accused, these three men having been afterwards upon very indifferent terms with each other, it is hardly possible but some part of their guilt must have transpired. This reflection, indeed, is not a proof; but, added to other circumstances, it carries great weight.

12thly, If a fellow so rude and artless as that William Arnold, who was condemned as a witness suborned by Rousseau, had not been actually guilty, he would have declared his innocence: he would have published it aloud all his life, and to all the world. I knew the man: his mother was a kitchen maid in my father's family, as is said in Saurin's factum; and both his mother and himself have acknowledged several

veral times in my presence that he had been justly sentenced. But why then, after two and forty years, and just as he was about to die, should N. Boindin have left this strongly attested accusation against three persons who were no longer living? The reason is this: he had drawn up this memorial above twenty years before; that is to say, Boindin had entertained a hatred to all three; that he could never forgive La Motte Houdart for not soliciting a seat for him in the French academy, and for having candidly declared to him, that the public profession he made of atheism would prevent his being received. He had had a dispute with Saurin, who was like himself, of an arrogant and inflexible disposition, and also with Malafaire, a rough and unpolished man, and was at enmity with Legeret de la Paye, on account of the following epigram which he had made upon him.

*Oui, Vadius, on connaît votre esprit,
Savoir s'y joue, & quand le cas arrive,
Qu'œuvre paraît par quelque coin fautive,
Plus aigrement qui jamais la reprend?
Mais on ne voit qu'en vous aussi se montre
L'art de louer le beau qui s'y rencontre,
Dont cependant maints beaux esprits font cas.
De vos pareils que vulez-vous qu'on pense?
Eh quoi, qu'ils sont connaisseurs délicats?
Pas n'en voudrais tirer la conséquence,
Mais bien qu'ils sont gens à fuir de cent pas.*

Yes, Vadius, that your wit is clear,
And learning solid I must own,
And should some faulty work appear,
In finding flaws you yield to none:

But still with all your sense and spirit,
 You want the art of praising merit,
 Which every critic should inherit.
 Of such as you what shall I say?
 That they are connoisseurs immense;
 But (take this caution by the way,)
 I'd shun them like the pestilence.

This was in fact Boindin's true character, and it is he who is described in the Temple of Taste, under the name of Bardou. In his memorial he was the dupe to his hatred. He was a man incapable of saying what he did not think, and equally incapable of altering any opinion wherewith his humour inspired him. In his morals he was irreproachable, in his life the strict philosopher; he did many generous actions; but that morose and unfociable humour of his, inspired him with prepossessions which he could never overcome.

The whole of this fatal affair, the consequences of which lasted so long, and with which no man is better acquainted than myself, took its rise from the innocent amusement which several persons of merit took in meeting together at a coffee-house, where they did not always pay a proper regard to the principal law of society, not to offend each other. Some severe criticisms passed mutually between them; and what was at first only a breach of politeness, gave birth to lasting animosity, and the perpetration of crimes. The reader now is left to judge whether there were three guilty persons in this affair, or only one.

It is probable that Saurin might have been the author of the last couplets ascribed to Roufseau

seau. It is probable likewise, that Rousseau having been found guilty of writing the five first, Saurin might have made the others, in order to ruin him; notwithstanding there was no rivalship between them: but there is not the least reason to charge La Motte with it. The intent of this article is purely to vindicate La Motte, whom I believe innocent. After all, it would be very difficult to determine which of the two, Saurin or Rousseau was guilty; but La Motte certainly was not.

De Motteville (Frances Bertaut) was born in Normandy in 1615. This lady has written some memoirs, which relate particularly to queen Anne, mother to Lewis XIV. in which we meet with several little facts written with great appearance of truth: she died in 1689.

Le Nain de Tillemont (Sebastian) Son to John Le Nain, master of requests, was born at Paris in 1637. He was bred up under Nicole, and was one of the most learned writers of Port-Royal. His History of the Emperors, and his Ecclesiastical History, in sixteen volumes, are written with as much veracity as can be found in compilations from ancient historians; for history before the invention of printing, being liable to very little contradiction, was consequently not very exact: he died in 1698.

Naudé (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1690: he was a physician and a philosopher; but more of the latter than the former. He at first attached himself to cardinal Barberini at Rome, then to cardinal de Richelieu, cardinal Mazarin, after that to queen Christina, to whose court he sometimes went, to increase the number of

learned men there; and last of all he retired to Abbeville, where he died as soon as he became at liberty. Of all his writings his Apology for the Great Men accused of Magic, is the only one remaining. A much larger volume might be made of Great Men accused of Atheism, since the time of Socrates.

———*Populus nam solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit.*

He died in 1653.

Nemours (Mary de Longueville, dutchess of) was born in 1625. There are memoirs of her's, in which we meet with some particulars relating to the unhappy times of the Fronde: she died in 1707.

Nevers (Philip, duke of) There are some poetical pieces of his writing, in a very singular taste. We must not judge of them by the sonnet thus turned by Racine and Despreaux:

*Dans un palais doré Nevers jaloux & blême
Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien.*

In palace gilt, Nevers, so jealous and commanding,
Writes verses that surpass all human understanding.

For his verses are both very intelligible and very pleasing, witness the following ones on Rancé, the famous reformer of La Trappe, who had written against archbishop Fenelon.

*Cet Abbé qu'en croyait patri de sainteté,
 Vieilli dans la retraite & dans Plannité,
 Orgueilleux de ses creux, bouffi de sa souffrance,
 Rompt ses sacrés statuts en rompant le silence,
 Et contre un saint Prelat s'animant aujourd'hui
 Du fond de ses deserts déclame contre lui,
 Et moins humble de cœur que fier de sa doctrine,
 Ill ose décider ce que Rome examine.*

That Abbé deemed so humble and so holy,
 Grown old in cell and pious melancholy,
 Proud of his cross, elated with his yoke,
 His sacred vows, at length, and silence broke;
 Now 'gainst a blameless prelate he declaims,
 And from his cloister poison'd arrows aims;
 Less meek of heart than flush'd with learning's
 pride,
 While Rome yet doubts, he ventures to decide.

His genius and talents are revived with improvement in his grandson: he died in 1707.

Nicéron (John Peter) a Barnabite monk, was born at Paris in 1685. He was author of the *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons in Literature*. All his characters are not illustrious; but he speaks of each in a suitable manner, and does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves a place among the useful literati: he died in 1738.

Nicole (Peter) was born at Chartres in 1625: he was one of the best writers in Port-Royal. What he has written against the Jesuits is no longer read; but his moral essays, which are of service to mankind, will never be forgotten. That Chapter in particular which treats on the

means of preserving peace in society, is a matter-piece unequalled by any thing of the kind among the ancients; but this peace is as difficult to be established as the political one of the abbé de St. Pierre: he died in 1695.

D'Orléans, (Joseph) a Jesuit. The first who made choice of the revolutions of states, as the only subject of history. Those of England he has written in an elegant style; but after the reign of Henry VIII. he is rather eloquent than faithful: he died in 1698.

Ozmond (James) a Jew by extraction, was born at Dombes in 1640: he learnt geometry without the help of a master at fifteen years of age. He is the first who compiled a Mathematical Dictionary. His Mathematical Amusements have still a great sale: he died in 1717.

Pagi, (Anthony) a Franciscan, was born in Provence in 1624. He corrected Baronius, for which he had a pension from the clergy: he died in 1699.

Papin (Isaac) was born at Blois in 1659: he was a Calvinist; but having quitted that religion he wrote against it: he died in 1709.

Pardies (Ignatius Gaston) a Jesuit, born at Pau in 1638, known to the world by his Elements of Geometry, and his tract upon the Souls of Brutes. To pretend, with Descartes, that animals are meer machines, without sensation, though furnished with the proper organs, is directly to contradict reason and experience. On the other hand, to say they have souls, properly so called, is saying what cannot be proved: but to say they are endued with memory and
 soul.

sensation, though the manner of their operation cannot be explained, would be speaking like a man of judgment, who knows that it is better to be ignorant than to err; for what work of nature is there with whose first principles we are acquainted: he died in 1673.

Parent (Anthony) born at Paris in 1666: he was a good mathematician, though he never had been taught by any master: but what is still more remarkable, he lived a long time at Paris independent and happy upon less than two hundred livres a year: he died in 1716.

Pascal (Blaise). His father was the first intendant that was appointed at Rouen: he was born in 1623, and was a great genius, of the superiority of which he thought of availing himself, in the same manner as kings of their power, that is, to bring every thing in subjection to him by main force. What in his Thoughts most disgusts some readers is the contemptuous, authoritative air he assumes; but he ought first to have been sure he had reason on his side. It must be owned that he contributed much to the improvement of our language, and eloquence. His enemies and those of Arnould found means to prevent any notice being taken of either in Perrault's book on Illustrious Men. This gave occasion to the quoting and applying to them that passage of Tacitus: *Præfulgebant Cassius & Brutus eo ipso quod eorum effigies non viscebantur*: he died in 1662.

Putin (Gui) born at Houdan in 1601: he was a physician; but is better known by his Letters, which are full of slander and abuse, than by his skill as a physician. These Letters have been much read, on account of the anecdotes,

fatire, and secret history in them, with which mankind in general are extremely delighted. It evidently appears from him how little contemporary authors, who write the news of the day, can be depended upon as guides by an historian : for that news is often found to be false, or misrepresented through malice ; besides, all these little anecdotes cannot afford much entertainment, except to little minds : he died in 1693.

Fatin (Charles) born at Paris in 1633, was the son of Gui. His works are read by the learned, as his father's Letters are by the idle and trifling. Charles was a very learned antiquarian ; but he left France, and died professor of medicine at Padua in 1693.

Patru (Oliver) born at Paris in 1604. He is the first in whose pleadings we find any thing like purity of language. In his last illness, Lewis XIV. ordered him some money, being informed he was but poor : he died in 1681.

Pavillon (Stephen) born at Paris in 1632 : he was attorney-general of the parliament of Metz, and writ some pretty pieces of poetry : he died in 1705.

Pellisson Fontanier (Paul) a Calvinist, born at Beziers in 1624. He was confident and secretary to the superintendant Fouquet ; was a very indifferent poet indeed, but very learned and eloquent. In 1661, he was confined in the Bastile for his fidelity to his master, where he continued four years and a half. After his discharge he passed the remainder of his life in writing the most fulsome encomiums on the king, who had deprived him of his liberty. It is only in absolute monarchies where such an abject

ject servility and baseness is to be found. More a courtier than a philosopher, he quitted the religion in which he was educated, in order to make his fortune, in which he succeeded: for he rose to be comptroller of accounts, master of requests, and abbé, and had a commission to employ the third of the money granted to engage the Huguenots to follow his example in renouncing their religion. His History of the Academy is much admired: but he writ a great many other things besides that, as Prayers during Mass, a Piece upon the Eucharist, Pieces on Love and Gallantry, and love verses in abundance to Olimpe, by whom was meant mademoiselle des Vieux, who, it is said, was married to the celebrated Bossuet, before he took orders. But the performances that have done most honour to Pellisson are his excellent Discourses concerning M. Fouquet, and his History of the Conquest of Franche-Compte. The Protestants pretend, that he died in a state of indifference as to all religions, the contrary of which is asserted by the Catholics: his death happened in 1693.

Perrault (Claud) born at Paris in 1613: he was a physician, but prescribed only for his friends. Without the assistance of any master, he became a great proficient in all the arts that have any dependence on design, and in mechanics. He was a good naturalist, and a great architect. He encouraged the arts under Colbert, their patron; and gained a reputation, in spite of Boileau: he died in 1688.

Perrault (Charles) born in 1626, brother of Claud. Being comptroller-general of the buildings under Colbert, he brought the Academies

of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, into form and order. He was an encourager of men of letters, who made their court to him during the life of his protector, but afterwards abandoned him. He hath been charged with prejudice and injustice with regard to the Antients; but his great fault is the criticising them improperly, and without judgment, and making enemies of those who could have defended his cause. The dispute hath been and will be a long time a party-affair, as it was in Horace's days. How many are there in Italy, who, tho' they cannot read Homer with any pleasure, but are in raptures when they read Tasso or Ariosto; yet cry up the former as inimitable! he died in 1708.

Petau (Denys) born at Orleans in 1583, a Jesuit. To him we are indebted for some corrections in chronology: he writ no less than seventy different pieces, and died in 1652.

Petit de la Croix (Francis.) He was one of those whose merit the great Colbert encouraged and rewarded. At the age of seventeen, he was sent by Lewis XIV. to Turkey and Persia, to learn the oriental languages; and, what will appear a little extraordinary, he writ a part of the life of Lewis in Arabic, which is read and esteemed in the East: he writ besides, the History of Genois-can and Tamerlane, compiled from ancient Arabian authors; and many other valuable tracts. But of all his performances his translation of A Thousand and one Day, is the most read.

*L'homme est de glace aux verités,
Il est de feu pour le mensonge.*

Mankind to truth are cold as ice ;
But soon take fire at lies and fiction.

He died in 1687.

Petit (Peter) born at Paris in 1617: he was a man of learning, and a philosopher: his works are in Latin: he died in 1687.

Perron (Paul) born in Brabant in 1639: he was a great antiquarian, as appears from his tract on the origin of the Celtic language: he died in 1706.

Du Pin (Lewis) born in 1637, a doctor of the Sorbonne: he got much reputation, and some enemies by his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*: he died in 1719.

La Placette (John) born in 1639, at Bearn: he was a protestant, and preacher in Holland, and at Copenhagen: he is the author of several works that are esteemed: he departed this life in 1718, at Utrecht.

De Polignac (Melchior) cardinal, born at Velay in 1662; as good a Latin poet as it is possible for one that now writes in that language to be. In his own, he was very eloquent. It appears from his choice, as well as that of others, that it is easier to write in Latin verse than in French. Unhappily for him while he opposed Lucretius, he opposed Newton: he died in 1741.

Porée (Charles) born in Normandy in 1675, a Jesuit. One of the few professors that have been known to and admired by the world in general: his eloquence resembles that of Seneca: he was a poet and a wit; but his chief excellence and merit was making learning and virtue appear amiable to his pupils: he died in 1741.

Du Pui (Peter): the son of Claud de Pui, counsellor of parliament, and a very learned man, was born in 1583. His learning was an advantage to the state; for he was at great pains in searching and collecting charters, and other vouchers of the king's rights and prerogatives over several states. He cleared up the Salic law as much as it is possible to do it, and shewed that the Gallican church has the justest title to the liberties it claims, which notwithstanding are but a part of the privileges of the ancient churches. It appears from his History of the Knights Templars, that some individuals of the order indeed were culpable; but that the condemning of the whole order, and the punishment of so many knights, were acts of the most flagrant injustice: he died in 1652.

De Puységur (the marshal.) He hath left us an Art of War, just as Boileau hath an Art of Poetry.

Quencl (Paquier) born in 1634, of the Oratory: he was unhappy in this, that he gave occasion to a great division among his countrymen: he lived in poverty and exile: his manners were severe, as those of men wholly engaged in controversy generally are. Thirty pages in his book changed or softened, would have spared his country much dispute, and animosity; but then he would not have made so much noise: he died in 1719.

Le Quien (Michael) was born in 1691: a Dominican, and very learned. He took a great deal of pains in writing on the eastern church and that of England. In particular, he entered the lists against Courayer concerning the validity

validity of ordination by English bishops. But the English regard these controversies no more than the Turks do such as concern the Greek church. He died in 1703.

Quinault (Philip) born at Paris in 1635: he was auditor of accompts, and writ some very beautiful pieces of Lyric poetry, notwithstanding Boileau's satire, which he bore with a great deal of good nature. *Quinault* was much superior in his way to *Lully*. The former will always be read, whereas the latter, setting aside his recitative, cannot even be sung: yet in his own time he was supposed to be indebted to *Lully* for his reputation: but time tries all things. He partook, like many other great men, of the bounty of Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

The marquis de Quincy, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and author of the Military History of Lewis XIV. He is very minute in his details, which may be useful to those that have patience to follow him through the operations of a campaign. Could exactly the same situations be supposed to exist, they would furnish good examples, but that is never the case, neither in business nor war. The difference is always great, and the resemblance imperfect. The conduct of war, like a game in which skill is requisite, is only to be learned by practice and service, and yet the event of a battle, like that of a game of hazard, is often determined by chance.

La Quintinie (John) born at Poitiers in 1626: he may be said to be the inventor of the art of cultivating gardens, and transplanting trees. His merit was amply rewarded by Lewis XIV.
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and all Europe now follows his precepts. He died in

Racine (John) born at Ferte-Milon in 1639, and educated at Port-Royal. When he writ the tragedy of *Theagenes*, and presented it to Moliere, and that of the *Freres Ennemis*, with the subject of which Moliere furnished him, he was an ecclesiastic. In the patent to *Andromache*, he is styled prior of Epinal. Lewis XIV. was not insensible to his great merit. He made him a gentleman in ordinary, nominated him sometimes of his retinue when he went to Marli, made him lie in his apartment once during a fit of sickness, besides many other valuable marks of his favour: yet Racine died of chagrin, from an apprehension of his having incurred his displeasure; by which it appears that he was a greater poet than philosopher. The merit of his works was not ascertained till of late. *Mariamne*, says St. Evremont, *Sophonisba*, *Alcinoe*, *Andromache*, and *Britannicus* are affecting pieces. Thus was not only Corneille's *Sophonisba*, a sorry performance, but the absurd *Mariamne* and *Alcinoe* set on a level with the other master-pieces. Thus is gold confounded with trash during the lives of ingenious men, but death separates them. He died in 1699.

Rancé (Jean de Bouthillier) born in 1626: his first performance was the translation of *Anacreon*, and in 1664, he instituted the terrible reform of *La Trappe*. As legislator, he dispensed himself with the observation of that law, which obliged those that are confined to that dismal place, to be absolute strangers to what passes in the world. He was an eloquent writer.

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ter. But, strange inconstancy! after he had instituted the above society, and been its governor or superior, he laid down the office, but afterwards would have resumed it. He died in 1700.

Rapin (René) born at Tours in 1621: a Jesuit. He is well known by the poem, called the Garden, in Latin, and many other learned pieces. He died in 1687.

Rapin de Thoiras (Paul) born at Castres in 1661: he was a refugee in England, and a long time an officer. The English are indebted to him for the only good and impartial history they have: for their own historians write all in the spirit of party. He died at Wesel in 1726.

Regis (Sylvan) born in Agenois in 1632: his philosophical works are no longer regarded, in consequence of the many discoveries and improvements that have been made since he wrote. He died in 1707.

Regnard (Francis) born at Paris in 1647: his travels alone were sufficient to render him famous. He was the first Frenchman that visited Lapland, where he left this inscription cut out upon a rock: *Sissimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit orbis*, i. e. I am got at last to the extremity of the world. He was taken in the Mediterranean by a corsair, and carried to Algiers, but was afterwards ransomed and made treasurer of France, and lieutenant of the waters and forests. He was a man of pleasure and a philosopher; his genius was sprightly, and truly comic. His comedy called the *Joueur*, or Gamester, is thought not inferior to those of Moliere. One must be a great stranger to the genius of the two authors, to suppose that he stole that piece from

from Dufreni. He dedicated his *Menechmes* to Despreaux, and afterwards writ against him, because he had not done him justice. Notwithstanding the gaiety of his temper, he died of chagrin at the age of 52. It hath even been said, that he cut short the thread of his days himself. He made his exit in 1658.

Regnier Desmarets (Seraphin) born at Paris in 1632: he improved our language much, and writ some pieces of poetry in French and Italian. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for a work of Petrarch's, but could not have made his French verses pass for those of a great poet. He took his leave of the world in 1713.

Renaudot (Theophrastus) a physician, and very learned in more respects than one. He was the first writer of Gazettes in France, and died in 1679.

Renaudot (Eusebius) born in 1646: very learned in the oriental languages and in history. But he deserves to be blamed for not allowing Bayle's dictionary to be printed in France. He died in 1720.

Richelet (Cæsar Peter) the first who composed a dictionary almost entirely of satire, in which he set an example more dangerous than useful.

Du Rier (Andrew) a gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber. He was a long time at Constantinople, and in Egypt, in a public employment. We have a translation by him of the Alcoran, and the history of Persia.

Du Rier (Peter) born at Paris in 1605: he was secretary to the king, and historiographer of France, but poor notwithstanding. He was the author of nineteen plays and thirteen translations, all which were well received by his contemporaries. He died in 1658.

La Rochefoucault (Francis, duke de) born in 1913: his memoirs are read, but his thoughts are not only read, but got by heart. He died in 1680.

Robault (James) born at Amiens in 1620: he abridged and explained in a clear and methodical manner Descartes's philosophical works. But all that can be said for that great man's philosophy at present is, that it exploded ancient errors, and substituted others in their places. He died in 1675.

Rollin (Charles) born at Paris in 1661, rector of the university, and the first of that body who writ French with purity and dignity. The last volumes of his Ancient History are not equal to the first, as being composed in much greater haste; yet it is one of the best compilations extant in any language, because Rollin was a master of eloquence, which few compilers are. Had he been also a philosopher, it would have greatly enhanced the value of his work. There are a number of ancient histories; but in none of them do we find that philosophical sagacity that distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between probability and fable, or fiction, and suppresses what is useless and frivolous. He died in 1741.

Rotrou (John) born in 1609: the founder of the theatre. The first scene and a part of the fourth act of Venceslas are master-pieces. Corneille used to call him his father; but every one will agree that the son greatly surpassed the father. Venceslas was not written till after the Cid. He died in 1650.

Rousséau (John Baptist) born at Paris in 1669. Fine verses, great errors in conduct, and
great

great sufferings, have conspired to render him famous. We must either suppose him the author of the verses that occasioned his banishment, which, by the bye, are not unlike many that he avowed, or throw a slur upon the two tribunals that condemned him. It is not indeed the first time that two tribunals, and even more numerous bodies, have, with one voice, pronounced very unjust sentences, when party-spirit runs high. Thus much is certain, that the party against Rousseau were full of rancour and resentment. Few men have ever been more universally hated and persecuted. Nothing less would satisfy the public than his banishment; nay, their aversion continued unabated several years after. But at last the success of his rival La Motte, the reception he met with, the reputation which, as they thought, he had unjustly and unfairly acquired, and the artifice by which he had raised himself to a sort of empire in literature, made all the men of letters forsake him, and declare for Rousseau, whom they now no longer dreaded. By their means the public in general was reconciled to him. La Motte now began to appear to them too happy, because he was rich and in vogue, not considering that he was blind, and laboured under many infirmities and disorders. On the contrary, Rousseau was viewed in the light of an unhappy exile; and to live at Vienna or Brussels was thought a greater misfortune than to be blind and infirm. But indeed both were very unhappy: only the one was the victim of nature, the other of the unlucky adventure that occasioned his banishment. Both may serve to shew what partiality and injustice men are capable of, how much they vary

in their judgments, and what folly it is to hunt after popular applause. He died at Brussels in 1740. See the article *La Motte*.

De La Rue (Charles) born in 1643, a Jesuit, Latin and French poet, and preacher; he was one of those that writ notes upon the classics, for the use of the dauphin. Virgil was the author that fell to his lot. He died in 1725.

Ruinard (Thierri) a Benedictine: he was a laborious critic: He maintained, in opposition to Dodwell, that there was an infinite number of martyrs in the primitive church. Perhaps he did not carefully enough distinguish between martyrdom and natural death, between persecutions on a religious and a civil account. However that be, he must be ranked among the learned men of the age, in which the Benedictines have greatly distinguished themselves by the most profound reasoning, as Martene, for instance, upon the ancient rites of the church. Tullier and others have entirely dispelled that cloud that long hung over the history and antiquities of the dark ages, especially with regard to the church. This was a species of study that was unknown till the Age of Lewis XIV. and in France only were the Benedictines celebrated for it. He died in 1707.

De la Sabliere (Anthony de Rambouillet). His Madrigals are wrote with an elegant simplicity. He died in 1680.

Sacy le Maitre (Lewis Isaac) born in 1613. One of the good writers of Port-Royal. The Royaumont Bible is by him, and a translation of Terence's comedies: he died in 1684. His brother, Anthony le Maitre, retired also to Port-

Port-Royal: he had been a counsellor at law, and was accounted very eloquent; but the opinion of the public changed upon reading his pleadings, which he had the vanity to publish. Another gentleman of the long robe, named Sacy, but not of the same family, and a member of the French academy, published a translation of Pliny's Letters in 1701, that were well received by the public.

Le Sage, born in 1667: his romance of *Gil Blas* still keeps its ground, because it is natural: he died in 1747.

Saint Aulaire, (Francis Joseph de Beau-poil, marquis de). It is something very remarkable, that the finest of his verses were composed when he was turned of ninety. Like the marquis de la Fare, he did not begin to exercise his talent for poetry, till he was past sixty. Among the first verses he published were the following, which were ascribed to la Fare.

*O muse le légère & facile,
Qui sur le coteau d' Helicon
Vintès offrir au vieil Anacréon
Cet art charmant, cet art utile,
Qui sait rendre douce & tranquile
La plus incommode saison;
Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse écloses
Ornez à ses côtés les graces & les ris,
Et qui cachez ses cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roses, &c.*

O muse! indulgent and heart-easing,
Who on the hill of Helicon,
Conferr'd on old Anacreon,
That art so useful and so pleasing,

That,

That, ev'n in winter's hoary reign,
 With pleasure beautifies the scene.
 You, who with flow'rs on fair Parnassus grow-
 ing,
 Adorn'd the graces in his train,
 And hid his locks of silver grain,
 With wreaths of roses ever blowing.

It was this performance that procured him a seat in the academy, tho' Boileau alledged it as the reason why he could not agree to his being admitted: he died in 1742, near an hundred years old, some say an hundred and two. Once being at supper with the dutchess of Maine, when he was above eighty years old, she called him Apollo, and desired to know some secret or other: his answer was,

*La divinité qui s' amuse
 A me demander mon secret,
 Si j' étais Apollo, ne serait point ma muse :
 Elle serait Thetis, & le jour finirait.*

u

The goddess who my youth renews,
 And would my secret comprehend,
 Were I Apollo, should not be my muse;
 She should be Thetis, and the day should end.

Anacreon, though younger, did not write such pretty things. If the Greeks had had such writers as our good ones, their vanity would have been still greater than it was, and we should have had more reason to admire them than we have.

Sainte Marthe. This family, for the space of an hundred years and upwards, hath been fruitful

ful in good writers. The first Charles Goucher de Sainte Marthe was an eloquent man for his time: he died in 1555.

Scevola, nephew of Charles, distinguished himself both by his learning and his exploits. It was he that reduced Poitiers to the obedience of Henry IV. he died at Loudun in 1623, and the famous Urban Grandier pronounced his funeral oration.

Abel de Sainte Marthe, his son, was also a lover of learning, and died in 1652; and his son, who was likewise named Abel, trod in the steps of his father and grandfather, and died in 1706.

Scevola and *Lewis de Sainte Marthe*, twin-brothers, and sons of *Scevola*. They were both eminent for their learning, and were buried in the same tomb at Paris, at St. Severin's. They composed together the *Gallia Christiana*.

Denys de St. Marthe, their brother, concluded that work, and died at Paris in 1725.

Peter Scevola de Sainte Marthe, the eldest brother of the last *Scevola*, was historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

St. Euremont (Charles) born in Normandy in 1613. Loose morals, letters writ to courtiers, at a time when the word *court* was pronounced with an emphasis every where, indifferent verses composed in illustrious societies, and for that reason called Society Verses, all these concurred, with a good deal of spirit, to raise the reputation of his works. They were printed by one des Maizeux, together with the life of the author, which alone makes one large volume, and yet in the whole there are not four pages that are interesting. It contains scarce any thing but what is to be found in his works. It

was an imposition of the booksellers and editors. By such artifices a way hath been found to multiply books *in infinitum*, and without adding any thing to the knowledge of mankind. His exile, his philosophy, and works, are well known. When he was asked on his death-bed, if he would be reconciled to the church? his answer was, "I wish I could be reconciled to my appetite." He died in 1703, and was interred at Westminster, with the kings and illustrious men of England.

Saint Pavin (Denys Languin de). He was one of those good authors whom Despreaux, in his Satires, confounded with the bad. What little he writes is esteemed for its elegance and delicacy. As for his personal merit, we may judge of it by the epitaph which Fieubet, master of requests, and one of the politest gentlemen of the age, made for him.

*Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin :
 Donne des larmes à sa fin.
 Tu fus de ses amis peut-être ?
 Pleure ton sort & le sien :
 Tu n'en fus pas ? pleur le tien,
 Passant, d'avoir manque d'en être.*

Here St. Pavin in mould'ring dust is laid,
 O'er his cold grave a tear in pity shed.
 Among his friends, perhaps, thy name was
 told :

If so, his fate and thine bemoan :
 But if it was not, weep thy own,
 That in the happy band thou never wast en-
 roll'd.

L' Abbé de Saint Pierre (Castel), a gentleman of Normandy, who, tho' his income was not great, yet, for some time, shared it with the celebrated Fontenelle and Varignon : he writ a great deal on politics. There is no better character of his works in general, than that given by the cardinal de Bois, *viz.* that they were the reveries of a good subject : he was simple enough to inculcate often in his works the most trivial moral truths, and to propose for the most part things impracticable : he was continually harping on the scheme of a perpetual peace, and a sort of universal parliament, which he called the diet of Europe. Part of this chimerical project had been attributed to Henry IV. and the abbé de St. Pierre, the better to recommend his notions, pretended that the European diet had been planned and approved of, by the dauphin duke of Burgundy, and that the scheme was found among his papers after his death. But it was a meer fiction of his own, to make his project be the better relished. He honestly published the answer that cardinal Fleury made to his proposal : " You have forgot, monsieur, says the cardinal, to propose in the first place to send a company of missionaries to prepare and dispose the hearts of the several princes." Yet, notwithstanding all this, the abbé de St. Pierre did a deal of good. He contributed not a little to deliver France from the hardships of the arbitrary land-tax ; with respect to that, and that alone, he writ and acted like a statesman. He was unanimously excluded the French academy, because he had, during the regency of the duke of Orleans, a little too harshly opposed in his *Poly-anodie* the establishment of councils to the method
of

of governing adopted by Lewis XIV. the protector of the academy. The intrigue for that end was managed by the cardinal de Polignac, and succeeded. What is a little unaccountable, is, that the regent did not prevent it, though the cardinal de Polignac was at that very time plotting against him; and he had given the abbé St. Pierre an apartment in the Palais Royal, and had his whole family in his service. However, the abbé did not complain. He continued to live like a philosopher, with those very persons who had excluded him. Boyer, the ancient bishop of Mirepoix, his fellow-member, prevented his eulogium from being pronounced at the academy according to custom. These fine speeches at the death of an academician add nothing either to his merit or reputation; yet in the present case, the refusal was barbarous: the service he had done his country, his probity, and his gentle disposition, entitled him to another sort of treatment. A few days before his death, I asked him what he thought of it: He replied, that he considered it as a journey or jaunt into the country. Of all his performances, that on the future abolition of Mahomedanism is the most remarkable. He is positive that the time will come, when reason will be an overmatch for superstition every where; that men will see and be convinced, that, to please God, patience, beneficence, and humanity alone are requested.

It is impossible, says he, that a book, in which falsehoods are asserted for truths, absurdities advanced that contradict common sense, and praises bestowed on actions manifestly unjust,

should be a revelation from God. He fancies that in 500 years time, all sorts of persons, even the lowest, will be convinced of the imposture, and that even the mufti and the cadis will find it their interest to disabuse the people, and to reform their religion, in order to render themselves more necessary and respected. 'Tis a curious piece.

Sallo (Denis) born in 1626. A counsellor of the parliament of Paris. He was the first that introduced journals, which Bayle perfected. They have since been brought into disgrace by greedy booksellers, and obscure writers, who have filled them with false extracts, lies, and impertinence. In short, applause and abuse is become a traffic, especially in periodical papers, by which scandalous doings, learning hath been much disparaged. He died in 1669.

Sandrafs de Courtils, born at Montargis in 1644. I have mentioned him for no other reason, but to put the French, especially foreigners, on their guard against those forgeries published in Holland. Courtils was one of the most infamous writers in this respect. He deluged Europe with fictions, under the title of histories. What a scandalous thing was it, that a captain of the regiment of Champagne should go to Holland, and support himself by selling lies to the booksellers. He, and such as follow his example, in writing libels against their country, against good princes who scorn, and private persons who have it not in their power to punish them, can be considered only as the most execrable and abandoned wretches. He wrote the Conduct of France since the peace of Nimeguen,
and

and the answer to it. The State of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV. The Conduct of Mars in the Dutch wars. The Love Conquests of the great Alcander. The Love Intrigues of France. The Life of Turenne and Admiral Coligni. The Memoirs of Rochefort, Artagnan, Monbrun, Vordac, of the marchioness de Frene. The political Testament of Colbert, and many other pieces, by which simpletons have been imposed upon and abused. The authors of those miserable pamphlets against France, intituled le Glaneur, l'Epilogueur, are his humble imitators. These pieces, which hunger prompted, and stupidity and falsehood dictated, are read by none but the canaille. He died at Paris in 1712.

Sanleque (Lewis) A canon regular, and the author of some pretty verses. The age of Lewis XIV. produced a vast number of indifferent poets, in whom, however, we sometimes meet with beautiful lines. But these are to be attributed to the times, not to the genius of the authors. He died in 1714.

Sanfon (Nicholas) born at Abbeville in 1600. He was the first good writer on geography before William de L'Isle, and died in 1667. His sons were also eminent in that way.

Santeuil (Jean Bapt.) born at Paris in 1600. He was an excellent Latin poet, if that is possible, but could not make French verses. His hymns are still sung in England. He died in 1697.

Sarrafin (John Francis) born near Caen in 1605. He is an agreeable writer both in prose and verse. He died in 1655.

Savari (James) born in 1622. He was the first that wrote on commerce, having been a long time a merchant. The council consulted him with regard to the ordinance of 1670, and he drew up almost all the articles of it. The dictionary of commerce, writ by him and his brother Philemon canon of St. Maur, was an undertaking as useful as new. But books of that sort are like the interests of princes, that change every fifty years and less. At present, the objects, the channels, the returns, and the arts of trade are very different from what they were in the days of Savari. He died in.

Saumaïse (Claud) born in Burgundy in 1588. He retired to Leyden to enjoy the liberty of the country. His erudition is well known. He died in 1653.

Saurin (James) born at Nismis in 1677. He was esteemed the best preacher among the protestants. Notwithstanding, his style is said to favour of the refugee. It can hardly be supposed, says he, that those who have forgone their country for the sake of their religion, should speak their native language in its purity. But in his time, the French spoken in Holland was better than it is at present. Bayle's style had nothing of the refugee; the only thing that can be objected to it, is a familiarity that approaches sometimes to lowness. The defects in the language of the Calvinist preachers, were occasioned chiefly by their copying the incorrect phraseology of the first reformers; besides, almost all of them having been educated at Saumur, in Poitou, in Dauphine, and Languedoc, they still retained the vicious provincial modes
of

of expression. The place of minister to the nobility at the Hague was instituted on purpose for Saurin. He was a man of learning and pleasure, and died in 1730. His family was not all related to that of Joseph Saurin of the academy of sciences, who is the author of some extracts from the *Journal des Scavants*, some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Façon* against Rousseau. Joseph died in 1737.

Sauveur (Joseph) born at la Fleche in 1653. He learned the elements of geometry without the help of any master, and is among the first that calculated the chances in games of hazard. He used to say, that one man could do as much as another in mathematics. This will hold true with regard to mere learners; but not to them who apply themselves to make discoveries. He was dumb till the age of seventeen, and died in 1716.

Scarron (Paul) the son of a counsellor of the great chamber, was born in 1598. His comedies are rather farces than comedies, and *Virgil Traveste* could be received only as the work of a buffoon. His *Comical Romance* is the only piece of his that is still relished by people of taste, as Boileau predicted. He died in 1660.

Scuderi (George de) born at Havre de Grace in 1603. Patronised by cardinal de Richlieu, he rivalled, for some time, Corneille in fame. His name is better known than his works. He died in 1607.

Scuderi (Magdalen) George's sister, born at Havre in 1607. She is better known at present by some pretty pieces of poetry, than by the untidy romances of *Clélie* and *Cyrus*. Lewi-

XIV. treated her with respect, and settled a pension upon her. She gained the first prize for eloquence bestowed by the academy. Her death happend in 1701.

Segrais (John) born at Caen in 1625. Mademoiselle calls him a sort of bel esprit, but he was indeed a very great wit, and a man of letters into the bargain. He was obliged to quit that Princess's service, for opposing her marriage with the count de Lauzun. His Eclogues, and translation of Virgil, were then admired, but are little regarded at present. What is remarkable, is, that some of the verses of Brebeuf's Pharsalia are still quoted, but not one of Segrais's Virgil. Notwithstanding, Boileau crys up Segrais, but runs down Brebeuf. He died in 1701.

Senaut (John Francis) born in 1601. General of the oratory, and a preacher; who was, with regard to F. Bourdaloue, what Rotrou was to Corneille, his predecessor, and sometimes, tho' rarely, his equal. He is to be reckoned rather among the restorers of eloquence, than among the truly eloquent, who have been very few.

Senecai, first valet de chambre to Maria Theresa. He was a poet of a singular turn of imagination. His tale of Kaimae, take it altogether, discovers a very great genius. It serves to shew, that very pretty tales may be told in a manner quite different from that of Fontaine. 'Tis observable that this piece, tho' the best he writ, is the only one not to be found in his collection. His Travaux d'Apollon has also peculiar beauties.

Sevigné

Sevigné (Mary de Rabutin) born in 1626. Her letters, which are full of anecdotes, and writ with freedom and spirit, in a lively style, are the best criticism that can be on your studied letters, in which there is a manifest affectation of wit, and still more on these fictitious letters writ to imaginary correspondents, and stuffed with absurd sentiments and adventures in a pretended epistolary style. She died in 1696.

Sylva, a Jew of Bourdeaux. He was a celebrated Physician at Paris, and writ a book on blood-letting. But he was a much greater man than one would suppose from his book; and such a physician as Moliere neither could nor durst attempt to ridicule. He died about the year 1746.

Simon (Richard) born in 1638. He was of the oratory, and an excellent critic. His history of the origin and progress of ecclesiastical revenues, and critical history of the old testament, &c. are read by the learned every where. He died at Dieppe in 1712.

Sirmond (James) a jesuit, born about the year 1559. He was one of the most learned and amiable men of his time, but little known as confessor to Lewis XIII. by reason of his peaceable deportment in that slippery office. The pope made choice of him, preferably to all the learned men of Italy, to write the preface to the history of the councils. His numerous works were held in great esteem in his own time, but are very little read now. He died in 1651.

Sirmond (John) nephew of the former, historiographer

Biographer of France, and privy-counsellor; an honour commonly annexed to the office of historiographer. One of his principal works is the life of cardinal d'Amboise; which he writ with no other view, but to make him appear inferior to cardinal de Richlieu, his patron. He was one of the first academicians, and died in 1649.

Sorbières (Samuel) born in Dauphiny in 1610. One of those that have had the title of historiographer of France. Having been intimate with pope Clement IX. before his exaltation, and not receiving from him any thing but trifles, he writ to him thus: "Your holiness sends me ruffles, before I have got a shirt." He writ but superficially upon several sciences; and died in 1670.

De la Suze (Henrietta de Coligni, countess) famous in her day for her wit and her elegies. She turned papist because her husband was a hugenot, and parted from him, in order, as queen Christina used to say, that she might not see him either in this world or the next. She died in 1673.

Tallemant (Francis) born at Rochelle in 1620. The second translator of Plutarch. He died in 1690.

Tallemant (Paul) born at Paris in 1642. Although his grand-father was the rich Montoron and his father master of requests, with an income of 200,000 livres present money, yet he had little or nothing; but Colbert provided for him, as he did for many other learned men. He had a principal hand in the medallic history of the king. He died in 1712.

Talon (Omer) attorney-general of the parliament of Paris, hath left some valuable memoirs, worthy of a good magistrate and citizen. He died in 1652.

Tarteron, a jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, Perseus, and Juvenal, suppressing those grossly obscene passages, with which one is surprised to find the works of Juvenal, but especially Horace, sullied. In doing this he had an eye to the youth, for whose benefit his labours were intended; but his translation is not literal enough for them; he has given the sense, but not the import of the particular words.

Terrasen (L'Abbe), born in 1669. He both lived and died like a philosopher. There are many good things in his *Setos*. He has translated Diodorus well, but his examen of Homer discovers no sort of taste. He died 1750.

Thiers (John Baptist) born at Chartres in 1641. He is author of a number of dissertations. It was he who attacked in print the inscription on the convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, which runs thus. To God and St. Francis, who were both crucified. He died in 1703.

Thomassin (Lewis) of the oratory born in provence in 1619. He was a man profoundly learned, and the first that collated manuscripts of the fathers, councils, and history. Towards the end of his life, he lost his memory entirely, so that he forgot that he had ever writ any. He died in 1695.

Thoynard (Nicholas) born at Orleans in 1629. He is supposed to have had a great hand in cardinal Norris's tract on the Syrian epochs. His harmony of the gospels in Greek is esteemed a

curious piece. He was a mere scholar, but a very profound one. He died in 1706.

De Torci (John Baptist Colbert) nephew of the great Colbert, Minister of state under Lewis XIV. He left memoirs of the public transactions from the peace of Riswick to that of Utrecht. They were published, while this essay on the age of Lewis was in the press, and confirms every thing advanced in it. They are very minute, and therefore only fit for those that want to be thoroughly acquainted with the subject of them. The style is better than that of any of the memoir writers his predecessors. It discovers the taste of Lewis XIV.'s court. But what stamps the highest value on them is, the candour and sincerity of the author, which shines through the whole. He died in 1746.

Tourel (James) born at Thoulouse in 1656. His translation of Demosthenes is well known. He died in 1715.

Tournefort (Joseph Pitton de) born in Provence in 1656. He was the greatest botanist in his time. He travelled by order of Lewis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, for the improvement of natural history. He added to the catalogue of plants 1336 new ones, and taught us to know our own. He died in 1708.

Le Tourneux, born in 1640. His Christian year is much read, tho' it is in the index expurgatorius of Rome, or rather perhaps because it is there. He died 1686.

Tristan-l'hermite, gentleman to Gaston of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. The long and surprising run which his tragedy of *Mariamne*

amne had, was owing to the ignorance of the times. They had then no better ; and it even held up its head some time after Corneille made his appearance. In some nations, at this day, very indifferent performances pass for master-pieces, because they have had none better. It is not generally known that *Tristan* turned the office of the virgin into verse, nor is it at all strange that it is not. He died in 1655.

Here follows his epitaph.

*Je fis le chien couchant auprès d'un grand Seigneur.
Je me vis toujours pauvre, & tâchai de paraître.
Je vécus dans la peine attendant le bonheur,
Et mourus sur un coffre en attendant mon Maître.*

A wretched spaniel crouching by his lord,
I still was poor, and pleaded still disaster ;
I liv'd in waiting at proud fortune's board ;
And dy'd upon a bench, in waiting on my master.

Vaillant (John Foy) born at Beauvais in 1632. The public is indebted to him for the Science des Madailles, and the king for one half of his cabinet. Colbert the minister sent him to Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. In 1674, he, and the architect Desgodet, were taken by the Algerines, and both ransomed by the king. Never did any learned man encounter so many dangers. He died in 1706.

Vaillant (John Francis) born at Rome in 1665, when his father visited that city. He was an antiquary, as his father had been, and died in 1708.

Valincourt (John Baptist Henry du Trouffel
O 6 de)

de) born in 1653. He is chiefly known by an epistle which Dispreaux addressees to him, tho' he writ some little things himself. He acquired a handsome fortune, which is more than he would have done, had he minded nothing but his books. Mere scholarship, without that activity and sagacity which renders a man useful, leads to nothing but misery and contempt. One of the best discourses ever spoken at the academy, is that wherein Mr. de Valincourt endeavours to correct the error of that multitude of young people, who, mistaking an itch of writing for genius and talent, pester princes with their verses, deluge the public with pamphlets, accusing them of ingratitude, because they forsooth are fools and idlers. He begs that those of them that have an ear would hear, and be persuaded, that the profession which they look upon as the lowest, is infinitely more eligible than that which they have taken up. He died in 1730.

Valois (Adrian) born at Paris in 1607, historiographer of France. His best works are his notice des Gaules, and his history of the first race of our kings. He died in 1692.

Valois (Henry) brother of the foregoing, born in 1603. His works are less interesting to the French than those of his brother. He died in 1676.

Varignon (Peter) born at Caen in 1654. A celebrated mathematician. He died in 1722.

Varillas (Anthony) born in la Marche in 1624. An historian more agreeable than exact. He died in 1696.

Le Vassor (Michael) of the oratory and a refugee in England. His history of Lewis XIII. tho'

tho' diffusive, heavy, and sarcastic, is in request for many singular transactions to be found in it: but he is an odious declaimer, who, under pretence of writing the history of Lewis XIII. aims at nothing but the depreciating Lewis XIV. sparing neither the living nor the dead. With regard to facts he is generally in the right; but that is not supposed to be the case with regard to his characters and reflections. He died in 1681.

Vauvassour, born in Charalois in 1605. A jesuit, and very learned. He was the first who made it appear, that the Greeks and Romans were absolute strangers to burlesque, and that it is a relic of barbarism. He died in 1681.

Vauban (marshal) born in 1633. His project of the tenth penny could not be carried into execution, and is, in fact, impracticable. He left behind him several memoirs, worthy of so good a subject, and died in 1707.

Vaugelas (Claude Favre de), born at Chamberi in 1585. He is one of those that first contributed to the regulating and refining of our language, and who could write verses in Italian, but not in French. During thirty years he was retouching and altering his translation of Quintus Curtius. Every author ought to make his works as perfect as possible, and for that end to be correcting them all his life. He died in 1650.

Le Vayer (Francis), born at Paris in 1588. He was preceptor to Monsieur brother to Lewis XIV. and, during one year, to Lewis himself. He was also historiographer of France, and counsellor of state. His scepticism was well known.

known, and yet did not prevent his being entrusted with the important office of educating these princes. Though his works are too prolix, yet there is a great deal of just reasoning and learning in them. He was certainly the most learned member of the academy. His scepticism is bolder and more undisguised than that of Bayle, and he is more severe and cynical in his satire. His motto was,

*De las cosas mas seguras
La mas segura es dudar.*

Of all those maxims deem'd secure,
The most secure is still to doubt.

As that of Montagne, *Que sçai je ? i. e.* What know I? He died in 1672.

Veissures (Mathurin de la Croze), born at Nantes in 1661. A Benedictine at Paris. Being a free-thinker, and his superior of a quite different character, he took the resolution to quit both his order and his religion. He was a prodigy both for learning and memory. Not content with studying and understanding what was useful and agreeable, he must needs study what could not be known, such as the ancient Egyptian language. One piece that he writ, upon the christianity of the Indies, is much esteemed. There is one thing remarkable that we learn from it, and that is, that the bramins, notwithstanding the idolatry of the people, believe that there is but one God. Such is the itch of writing, that a life of this man hath been published, making a volume as large as that of Alexander.

Alexander. Such an extract as this would have been enough, and too much. He died at Berlin in 1739.

Vergier (James), born at Paris in 1675. He is, with regard to Fontaine, the same that Cam-pistron is to Racine, an imitator, feeble, but natural. He was assassinated at Paris by two highwaymen in 1720. It is insinuated in Moreri, that the cause of his death was a parody he writ against a powerful prince; but that is false.

Vertot (René Aubert), born in Normandy in 1655. An elegant and agreeable historian. He died in 1735.

Vichart de St. Real (Cæsar), born at Chamberry, but educated in France. His history of the conspiracy of Venice is a masterpiece, but that is more than can be said of his life of Jesus Christ. He died in 1692.

Villars de Montfaucon (l'abbé de), born in 1635. He is well known as the author of the Count de Gabalis, built upon a part of the ancient mythology of the Persians. He was shot dead with a pistol in 1673; upon which it was said, that the sylphs had assassinated him for revealing their mysteries.

Villars (marshal duke de), born in 1652. He wrote the whole first tome of the memoirs that bear his name. He died in 1734.

Villedieu (madame de). Her romances have gained her a reputation. But I would not have the reader think that I set any value upon that inundation of romances with which France hath been lately overflowed. Almost all of them, except *Zaid*, are the productions of persons

sons of no genius, who writ in an easy agreeable style things unworthy the notice of men of sense. Most of them are quite destitute of imagination, and though read and admired by young people, whose taste they spoil, they are not worth, all together, four pages of Ariosto. She died in 1683.

Villiers (Peter), born at Coignac in 1648. A Jesuit. He was a man of letters, as almost all of that order are. His sermons, and his poem on the art of preaching, were esteemed in his own time. His verses on solitude are far superior to those of St. Amant on the same subject, though so much admired, but are not, after all, worthy of the age of Lewis XIV. which so far outshone that in which St. Amant lived. His death happened in 1728.

Voiture (Vincent), born at Amiens in 1598. He was the first Frenchman that was what is called in France a bel esprit. His writings have little else to recommend them, and yet they are not proper models to form our taste upon; but wit was then a rare thing. He writ some very pretty bits of poetry, but nothing considerable. That which he addressed to Anne of Austria is an evidence of the freedom and gallantry that reigned in that queen's court, notwithstanding the severe trials her goodness and patience underwent from the Frondeurs: but these are not in the printed collection. He goes on thus,

- - - - -

*Je pensais si le Cardinal,
J'entends celui de la Valette,*

Pouvois

*Pouvait voir l'éclat sans égal
 Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes *,
 J'entends celui de la beauté,
 Car auprès je n'estime guère,
 Cela soit dit sans vous déplaire,
 Tout l'éclat de la majesté.*

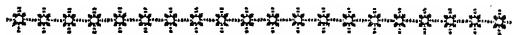
Should now the cardinal survey,
 (The cardinal Valette I mean)
 Th' unequal'd splendor you display,
 In Christendom the brightest queen.
 In beauty first, for as to rank,
 (Let not my words displeasure draw)
 And regal pomp, 'tis all a blank;
 'Tis what I value not a straw.

He was also a good versifier in Spanish and Italian, and died in 1648.

It is not worth while to carry this catalogue any farther. The reader will find in it a few great geniuses, and many imitators; and to the learned men I have mentioned, a considerable number might have been added. It can hardly be expected that any new or original geniuses should appear for the future, unless other manners, and another sort of government, should give a new turn to the human mind. It is impossible there should be any such thing as men universally learned, because every science is be-

* It was then the custom to retrench final letters in verse, when the rhyme required it. *As vous êtes* for *vous êtes*. The English and Italians do so at present. French poetry is too much limited, and often approaches too near to prose.

come unlimited. The learned, therefore, must be content each to cultivate a corner of that vast field that was cleared and enclosed in the age of Lewis XIV.



C H A P. CCXV.

Of CELEBRATED ARTISTS.

MUSICIANS.

FRENCH music, especially the vocal, is disliked by all other nations. It cannot be otherwise, in regard that the French prosody or versification differs from that of every other country of Europe. We make the pauses always upon the last syllable, whereas all others make it upon the penult, or antepenult, as the Italians. Our language is the only one that hath words terminating in e mute, and those e's that are not pronounced in ordinary discourse, yet are uniformly so in music, as *gloi-reu, victoi-reu, barbari-eu, fuai-eu...* Hence it comes, that most of our airs and recitative are insupportable to those who have not been accustomed to them. The climate denies us that flexibility of voice which it gives the Italians, and it is not custom among us, as at Rome and other Italian courts, to make eunuchs of men, in order to render their voices finer than those of women. All these things, joined to the flow-
ness

ness of our singing, which, by the bye, forms a strange contrast with our native vivacity, will always make the French music disagreeable to any but Frenchmen.

After all, foreigners, who have resided some considerable time in France, acknowledge that our musicians have performed wonders in adapting their airs to our words, and also that the music is very expressive; but only so to ears that have been some time accustomed to it, and besides the execution must be very good.

Our instrumental music is not altogether free from the monotony and slowness of the vocal; but many of our symphonies and tunes have been relished by foreigners. They are admitted into many of the Italian operas, and scarce any others are in use at the court of a king who has one of the best operas in Europe, and who, among his other extraordinary talents, has a fine taste for music, which he cultivates with great assiduity.

John Baptist Lully, who was born at Florence in 1633, and came to France at the age of fourteen, when he could perform on no instrument but the violin, was the parent of true French music. He knew how to suit his art to the genius of the language, which was the only sure way to succeed: but at that time the Italian music had not begun to deviate from that gravity and noble simplicity which we still admire in Lully's recitative. Nothing resembles these recitatives more than the *Motet* of *Lugi*, sung in Italy with so much success in the 17th century, which begins thus:

*Sunt breves mundi rosæ, sunt fugitivi flores,
Fronde veluti annosæ, sunt labiles honores.*

The rose's date is brief ;
The lillies soon decay ;
And like the annual leaf,
Frail honours fleet away.

It must be observed, that in this pure recitative music, which is the Melopée of the ancients, the beauty of the singing is principally owing to the natural melody of the words ; no words but such as are musical can well have a place in recitative. But of this they were not sufficiently sensible in the days of Quinault and Lully. The poets were jealous of these gentlemen as poets, but not as musicians. Boileau thus addresses Quinault :

*Ces lieux communs de Morale lubrique
Que Lulli rechaufa des sons de sa Musique.*

Those hackney'd thoughts, so wanton yet so
tame,
That Lulli strove to warm at musick's flame.

The tender passions, which Quinault expressed so well, were much rather a striking picture of the human heart, than a loose morality ; his diction animated the music still more than Lully's art did the words. These two, with the help of actors, have, of some scenes of Atis, Armida, and Roland, made an entertainment such as no people, ancient or modern, can match.

match. Detached airs and ariettes did not at all come up to the perfection of these grand scenes. They very much resembled our Christmas carols, or the Venetian barcaroles; and yet they were contented with them at that time. The more artless the music then was, the fonder they were.

After Lully, all our musicians, such as Colasse, Campra, Dettouches, and others, copied after him, till at last one appeared, who far excels them in sublime harmony; and hath vastly altered and improved the art of music.

With regard to sacred music, though we have had some celebrated composers in France, yet their pieces have not yet been executed any where but in the king's chapel.

Of PAINTERS.

The case is not the same with regard to painting as with music. The latter may be such as to please none but the natives, because the genius of the language is incompatible with any other; but painters ought to represent nature, which is the same every where, and seen with the same eyes.

The only true test of a painter's merit is the judgment of foreigners. It is not enough that he has a party, and is cried up by scribblers; his works must be in request, and bear a high price. What sometimes hampers the genius of painters one would be apt to imagine would elevate and enlarge it, I mean the particular taste or manner of the school, or of those who preside in it. Academies are, without doubt, extremely

extremely useful to form pupils, especially when the directors aim at the sublime in painting ; but if they are men of a groveling taste, if their manner is dry and minute, if their figures are ungraceful, their pieces painted like fans ; their pupils are the dupes of imagination, or aiming at the applause of a bad master. There is a sort of fatality attends academies. None of the works styled academic, of any kind, have been works of genius. Suppose an artist extremely solicitous lest he should not hit the manner of his fellow academicians, his productions will infallibly be stiff and disgusting. But if a man is free from these prejudices, and aims only at the copying of nature, it is ten to one but he succeeds. Almost all the eminent painters either flourished before the establishment of academies, or got the better of the prejudices contracted there.

Corneille, Racine, Despreaux, and Le Moine, took a rout quite different from their brethren, and in consequence had most of them for their enemies.

Nicholas Poussin, born at Andelis in Normandy in 1599. Nature gave him a genius for painting, which he improved at Rome. He is called the painter of men of sense ; with equal justice may he be denominated that of men of taste. His only defect is, his heightening the dismal and solemn in the colouring of the Roman school. He was the greatest painter in Europe in his time. He was invited from Rome to Paris ; but was fain to give way to envy and cabal, and to withdraw, as many other ingenious men have done. He went back

back to Rome, where he lived poor, but contented, his philosophy enabling him to despise the frowns of fortune. He died in 1665.

Le Sueur, born at Paris in 1617. He had no other master than Vouet, and yet became a celebrated painter. He had carried the art to a high degree of perfection, when he was taken off the stage of time at the age of thirty-eight years, in 1655.

Bourdon and *Valentin* were eminent men. Three of the best pictures that adorn the church of St. Peter at Rome, are by Pouffin, Bourdon, and Valentin.

Charles le Brun, born at Paris 1619. Scarce had he begun to display his talent, when the superintendant Fouquet, one of the most generous, and at the same time most unhappy men that ever lived, gave him a pension of 24,000 livres present money. His picture of the family of Darius at Versailles is little short, in point of colouring, of that of Paul Veronese, which faces it; and in respect of design, composition, dignity, expression, and observance of *costume*, surpasses it. His battles of Alexander, engraved, are still more in request than those of Constantine by Raphael and Julio Romano. He died in 1690.

Peter Mignard, born at Troyes in Champagne in 1610. He rivalled *Le Brun* sometime in reputation: but he is now considered as much below him. He died in 1695.

Claud Lorrain. His father, when he would have made a pastry-cook of him, did not foresee that he would one day be reckoned one of the
the

the greatest landskip-painters that ever Europe had produced. He died at Rome in 1678.

Cafe. We have some pieces of his that begin to be highly valued. We don't do justice to ingenious men in France so soon as we ought. Their indifferent performances often prevent us from seeing the beauties of their master-pieces. On the contrary, the Italians extol what is great and excellent, without taking notice of what is indifferent. Every nation seeks to promote its own glory and renown, except the French. They value nothing but what is foreign.

Joseph Parossel, born in 1648. A good painter, but inferior to his son. He died in 1704.

John Fowvenet, born at Rouen in 1644. He was Le Brun's pupil, and a good painter, but not to be compared to his master. He hath painted almost every thing yellow; for by some extraordinary conformation of his organs, they appeared to him of that colour. He died in 1717.

John Baptiste Santerre. There are some admirable pictures of his, the colour of which is just and delicate. His picture of Adam and Eve is one of the finest in Europe: that of St. Theresa, in the chapel of Versailles, is a very noble piece, but rather luscious for an altar-piece.

La Fosse distinguished himself much in the same way.

Bon Boulogne was an excellent painter, of which the high price, and great demand for his pieces, are an evidence.

Lewis

Lewis Boulogne. His works, though not without merit, yet are not so much admired as his brother's.

Raous. His pieces are not all of equal merit. In some of them he is nothing short of Rembrandt.

Rigaut. Though he excelled chiefly in portraits, yet his piece of cardinal Bouillon opening the jubilee, is not at all inferior to any of Rubens.

De Troie. He painted in Rigaut's manner. There are some good history-pieces by his son.

Vateau. He excelled as much in the graceful as Tenieres did in the grotesque. Some of his pupils have done him honour.

Le Moine. His piece of Hercules's apotheosis, at Versailles, is perhaps superior to any thing I have yet mentioned. It was intended as a compliment to cardinal Hercules de Fleury, who, by the bye, had nothing in common with the fabulous Hercules. It would have been more a-propos to have represented the apotheosis of Henry IV. in the saloon of a French king. Le Moine, being envied by his brethren, and thinking himself ill-requited by the cardinal, died of grief and despair.

Besides these there have been some other painters, who excelled in still life, or in painting animals, as Desportes and Oudry; others in miniature, and others in portraits. At present we have some that distinguish themselves in the grand and sublime, and posterity, in all appearance, will have them too.

Of SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, and
ENGRAVERS.

Under Lewis XIV. sculpture was carried to perfection, in which it still continues under Lewis XV.

James Sarrazin, born in 1598. He executed some master-pieces at Rome for pope Clement VIII. and at Paris he was equally successful. He died in 1695.

Peter Puget, born in 1662. An architect, sculptor, and painter. He is celebrated chiefly for his *Andromeda*, and *Milo of Crotona*. He died in 1695.

Italy is indebted to *Le Gros* and *Theodon* for many of its embellishments.

Francis Girardon, born in 1627. Antiquity can boast of nothing superior to his bath of *Hercules*, and his tomb of cardinal *Richlieu*. He died in 1715.

Coisevau and *Cousson* were eminent in their way, besides others; yet we have three or four sculptors at present that excel them.

Chauveau, *Nanteuil*, *Meulan*, *Audran*, *Hedeling*, *le Clerc*, *les Drevet*, *Poilly*, *Picart*, *Duchange*, tho' they have been out-done since, yet they were ingenious men, and their engravings supply the want of original pictures, &c. all over Europe.

There were also some goldsmiths, such as *Balin* and *Germain*, who, on account of the beauty of their designs, and elegance of execution,

tion, deserve to be ranked among the most celebrated artists.

It is more difficult for one born with a genius for architecture to make his talent appear, than for any other artist. Unless he is set to work by princes, he has no opportunity to display his taste and skill in any work of grandeur and magnificence. Thus have the talents of many an architect been entirely useless to them.

Francis Mansard was one of the best architects of Europe. The chateau, or palace of Maisons, near St. Germain's, is a masterpiece, because he was at liberty to give full scope to his genius.

Jules Hardouin Mansard his nephew, was superintendant of the buildings under Lewis XV. and made an immense fortune. The beautiful chapel of the invalids is a design of his. As to the palace of Versailles, he could not display his talents to advantage in it, by reason of the situation.

Foreigners object to the city of Paris, that it has only two fountains in a good taste; the old one of John Gougeon, and the new of Bouchardon: and even these are badly situated. Neither has it any magnificent theatre besides that of the Louvre, which is not used. The places for the public diversions and representations, have neither proportion, taste, nor ornament; and their situation is as bad as their contrivance, notwithstanding the example that has been set

us by some cities in the provinces, but which we have not yet thought fit to follow. France, however, can boast of magnificent buildings of another sort, and of more importance, such as stately hospitals, storehouses, stone-bridges, quays, dykes for checking the inundations of rivers, canals, sluices, ports, and especially the fortifications of the frontier towns, in which beauty is united with solidity.

The magnificent structures erected upon the designs of Perrault, Leveau, and Dorbay, are too well known to require a detail.

The art of gardening was in a manner invented and perfected by Le Notre, and La Quintinie; by the former in respect of beauty and ornament, and by the latter with regard to utility.

Engraving of precious stones, coining of medals, and casting of types for printing, have kept pace with the other arts in point of improvement.

Clocks and watches, the makers of which may be considered as a sort of practical naturalists, have likewise been carried to a very high degree of perfection.

The watering of stuffs, and the gold too with which they are embellished and enriched, discovers such rare ingenuity and taste, that what is worn only from vanity and luxury, deserves to be preserved as a monument of industry.

The

The making of porcelain was first attempted at St. Cloud before it was attempted anywhere else in Europe.

In fine, the last age hath taught the present how to unite, and transmit as a sacred deposit to posterity, the whole assemblage of the arts and sciences, each of them carried to the utmost perfection possible ; and to do so, is actually the object and aim of numbers of learned and ingenious men at this day. But such is the brevity of human life, that the execution of part of the immense and immortal design must be left to posterity.

End of the NINTH VOLUME.

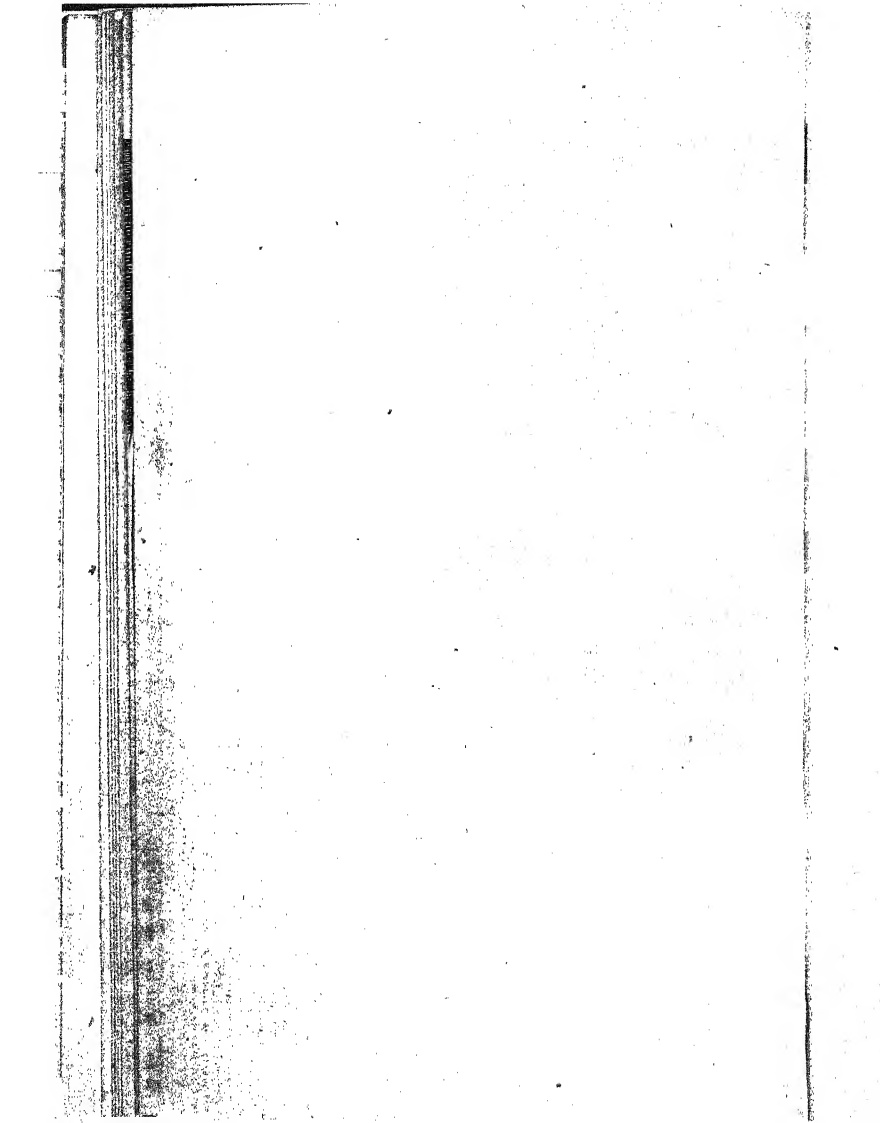


Charles XII. of Sweden.

J. Ball's sculp.

THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
VOLTAIRE.

VOL. X.



THE
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Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

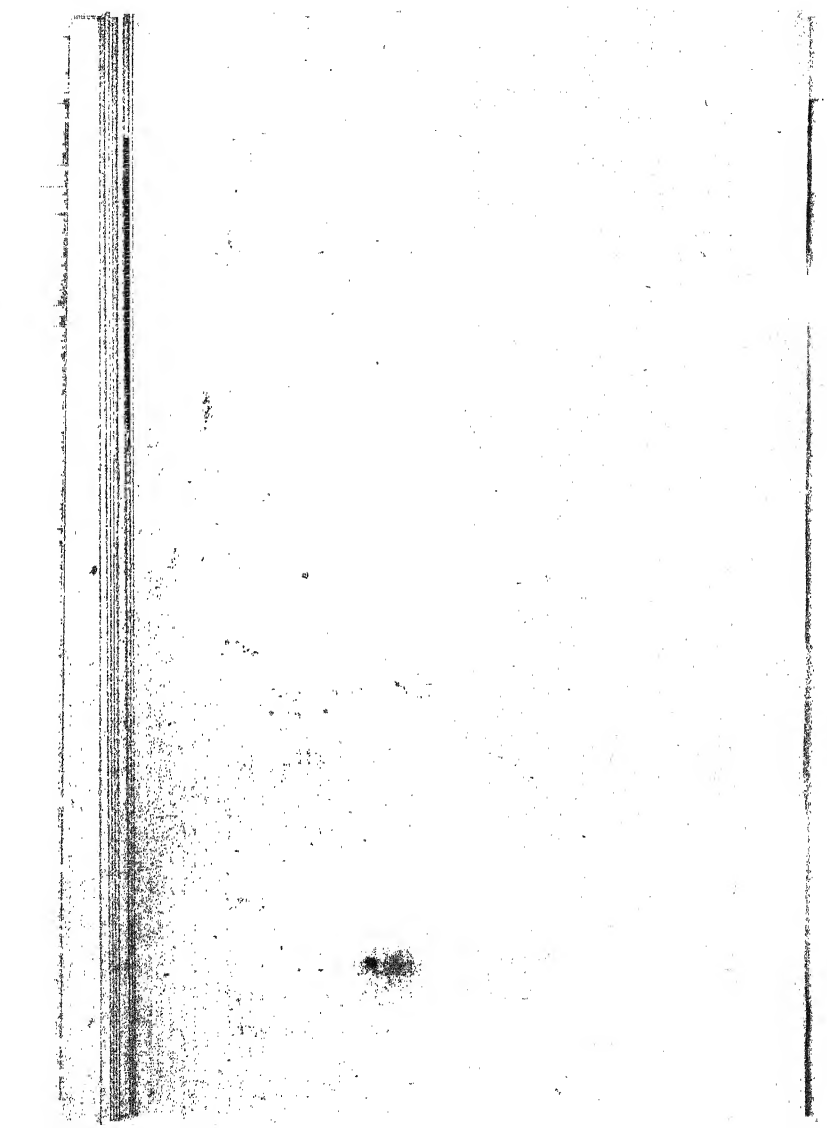
By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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OBSERVATIONS ON HISTORY.

WILL public authors never cease to give us false conceptions of the past, the present, and the future? In their opinion, surely, mankind must have been born to be deceived; with so much confidence do they pretend, even in this enlightened age, to obtrude upon us the fables of Herodotus; nay, and fables which even Herodotus himself would not have dared to impose upon the Greeks.

What the wiser are we for being so frequently told that Menes was the grandson of Noah? and with what appearance of justice can we affect to ridicule the genealogies of Moreri, while we ourselves compose others no less ridiculous? Noah, (it is affirmed) sent his children to travel into foreign parts; his grand-son, Menes, into Egypt; his other grand son into China; I know not what other grand-son into Sweden; and a younger descendant still into Spain. Travelling, in those days, must have improved the minds of young

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gentlemen much more than it does at present. The moderns, in the course of ten or twelve centuries, have hardly been able to acquire an imperfect knowledge in geometry; but these ancient travellers were no sooner arrived in those uncultivated countries, than they began to foretel eclipses. Certain it is, the authentic history of China contains calculations of eclipses for about four thousand years. Confucius mentions thirty-six computations of the same nature, all of which, except four, the mathematical millionaires have found to be just. But these facts do not puzzle the writers who have been pleased to make Noah the grand-father of Fohi; because they are resolved that nothing shall puzzle them.

Other admirers of antiquity would make us believe, that the Egyptians were the wisest people in the universe; because, forsooth, they paid an extreme deference to their priests; and yet it is well known, that the wise priests and legislators of these wise people worshipped monkeys, cats, and onions. We may extol the works of the ancient Egyptians as much as ever we please: such of them, however, as still remains, are at best but shapeless blocks; the finest of their statues not being comparable to the most indifferent of our ordinary artists. The Egyptians must certainly have learned the art of sculpture from the Greeks; there never having been a masterly performance produced in Egypt, that did not proceed from the hand of a Greek. The Egyptians, 'tis said, were profoundly skilled in astronomy: the four sides of a great pyramid are opposed to the four quarters of the world; is not that a convincing proof of the truth of the assertion? But were the Egyptians equal to our Cassini's, our Halley's, our Kepler's, or Tycho-Brahe's?

Brahe's ? these good people told Herodotus, with great gravity, that in eleven thousand years, the sun had set twice in the same place where it rises. Such was their astronomy *!

It cost, according to Mr. Rollin, fifty thousand crowns to open and shut the sluices of the lake Mœris. This author is very dear with his sluices ; and, besides, his calculations are false. 'There is no sluice, (unless it be a very bad one indeed,) that may not be opened and shut for a crown : but it cost, he says, fifty talents to open and shut these sluices. It must be observed, that in the time of Colbert, a talent was equal to three thousand French livres. Rollin, however, is not aware, that since that period, the current value of our specie is nearly doubled ; and that therefore, the expences of opening the sluices of the lake Mœris must have been, according to his computation, about three hundred thousand livres, which is almost two hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres more than enough. All the other calculations in his thirteen volumes seem to be equally inaccurate. The same author affirms, after Herodotus, that in Egypt, a country not near so extensive as France, there was a standing army of four hundred thousand men, every one of whom had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, and two

* If their knowledge in astronomy did not extend farther than the instances here given, they surely had no great reason to boast of their knowledge. But if we may believe Diodorus Siculus, and other historians besides Herodotus, the Egyptians excelled all the world in the arts of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and medicine ; and it is generally allowed that Egypt was the source from whence Greece derived the first principles of the arts and sciences, both for pleasure and utility.

pounds of flesh. This last article makes eight hundred thousand pounds of flesh a-day for the soldiers alone, in a country where they hardly eat any flesh at all. Besides, to whom belonged these four hundred thousand soldiers, while Egypt was divided into several petty principalities? But this is not all; we are further told, that every soldier had six acres of land free from taxes. Two millions four hundred thousand acres of ground that paid nothing to the state! and yet this poor and petty state maintain a greater army than is now-a-days maintained by the grand signor, who is master of Egypt, and other territories, ten times more extensive than it. Lewis XIV. it is true, had four hundred thousand men in arms for some years; but that was an extraordinary and unnatural effort, and that effort hath ruined France.

Would people but take the pains to consult their reason, instead of their memory, and to examine rather than transcribe, we should not see books and errors multiplied without end: nothing would then be committed to writing that had not the recommendation at once of novelty and of truth. The qualification in which historians are commonly defective is a true philosophical spirit; most of them, as they now are, instead of discussing matters of fact with men, content themselves with telling tales to children. Should the fable of Smerdis' ears, or that of Darius*, who gained a king-

* We see nothing at all improbable in this story of Darius, who agreed with the other competitors, that next day they should meet at a certain place, and the crown be conferred on him whose horse should first neigh. This circumstance being known to Oenebarus, an officer of Darius,

kingdom by the neighing of his horse, or that of Sanacharib, or Sennakerib, or Sannacabon, whose army was miraculously destroyed by rats; should such fables as these, I say, be reprinted in the present age? If men will still repeat such improbable stories, let them at least represent them as no better than they really are.

Is it allowable for a man of sense, born in the eighteenth century, to entertain us with a serious discourse concerning the oracles of Delphos? one while to tell us that this oracle prophesied that Cæsus would boil a sheep and a tortoise in a tortoise-shell? at another, to inform us that battles were won agreeable to the prediction of Apollo? and to assign as the cause of these events the great power of the devil? Mr. Rollin, in his ancient history, undertakes the defence of oracles against Van Dale, Fontenelle, and Basnage. "With regard to Mr. Fontenelle, says he, his book against oracles, drawn from Van Dale, is to be considered merely as a youthful performance." This decree, I am afraid, of Rollin's old age against Fontenelle's youth, will be reversed at the bar of reason, where it seldom happens that rhetoricians gain their cause, when they enter the lists with philosophers. To be convinced of this, we need only attend to what Rollin hath said in his tenth

he caused a mare to be brought to his master's horse on the very spot assigned as the scene of determination, and next day the steed no sooner approached the place than he began to neigh. That such an agreement should be made, and such a stratagem practised among a barbarous people, is not at all unlikely; as an analogous instance, we might quote from scripture the device of Jacob's peeled sticks when he fed the flocks of Laban.

volume, where he means to speak of physics. He there alledges, that Archimedes, in order to demonstrate the surprising effects of the mechanical powers, to his good friend the king of Syracuse, ordered a galley, doubly loaded, to be placed on the solid earth, and then pushed it gently into the stream with one finger, without so much as coming out of his chariot. This, 'tis plain, is the language of a rhetorician; had he had the least smattering of philosophy, he would at once have perceived the absurdity of what he asserts*.

Would we improve the present time to the best advantage, we ought not, methinks, to squander away our lives in brooding over ancient fables. I would advise a young man to acquire a slight knowledge of these remote ages; but I would have him to begin the serious study of history at that period where it becomes truly interesting to us, which, in my opinion, is towards the end of the fifteenth century. From that era history is rendered more authentic, chiefly by means of the art of printing, which was then concealed. The general face of Europe was invented: the Turks, who overspread it, banished polite literature from Constantinople; but it flourished in Italy: it was established in France; and it went to polish the rude manners of the Germans, the English, and other northern nations. A new religion delivered one half of Europe from papal subjection. A new system of politicks took place: by the help of the

* That Archimedes carried the mechanical powers to a surprising pitch of exertion is certainly true; and whether from a complication of these powers it might not be possible to do something like what is here mentioned, we shall leave philosophers to determine,

mariner's compass, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and the trade between Europe and China was rendered more easy than that between Paris and Madrid. America was discovered; a new world was conquered, and our own was almost totally changed: the christian nations of Europe became a kind of immense republic, in which the balance of power was established upon a more sure and solid foundation than it had ever been in ancient Greece. A perpetual intercourse unites all the parts of this vast body together, in spite of the wars excited by the ambition of kings, and even in spite of religious wars, which are still more destructive. The arts, which are the glory of every kingdom, were carried to a degree of perfection which they never attained in Greece and Rome. This is the history which every man ought to know: in this you will find no chimerical prediction, no lying oracles, no false miracles, no stupid fables; in this every thing is true, almost to the most minute circumstances, about which, however, none but little souls will give them great concern. To us every thing relates, every thing contributes to our advantage. The plate from which we eat, our furniture, our wants, our new pleasures, all conspire to remind us that America, the East Indies, and, of consequence, the whole world has, within these two centuries and a half, been reunited by the industry of our forefathers. We cannot take a single step that does not recal to our memory the great change which hath lately been brought about in the world. Here are a hundred cities which were formerly subject to the pope, but which are now free. There have been established, at least for a time, the privileges of the Germanic body: here is formed the most perfect

republic in a country, which is every moment in danger of being swallowed up by the sea: England hath united true liberty with royalty: Sweden copies the glorious example; but her sister Denmark has not the prudence to follow the same course. If I travel into Germany, France, or Spain, I every where find the traces of that inveterate quarrel, which hath subsisted so long between the houses of Austria and Bourbon; houses united by so many treaties, all which have been productive of the most cruel and bloody wars. There is not a single man in Europe, whose fortune has not, in some measure, been influenced by those great revolutions. And does it become us after this to trifle away our time with Salmanazar, and Mardokempad, and with curious, but useless enquiries concerning the anecdotes of Cayamarrat the Persian, and of Sabaco Metophis. No man sure, when arrived at the age of maturity, and engaged in the management of weighty and important affairs, will sit down to relate the tales of his nurse.



NEW REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY.

I Doubt not but the same change which hath lately happened in physics may soon take place in the manner of writing history. New discoveries have banished the old systems. One would wish too to study the characters of mankind with all that interesting particularity of circumstance, which now constitutes the foundation of natural philosophy.

We now begin to give little credit to the adventure of Curtius, who shut up a gulph, by throw-

throwing himself and his horse into the opening; the shields which came down from heaven, and all the pretty talismans which the Gods were wont, with so much liberality, to present to mankind; the Vestals, who set a ship afloat by the charm of their girdle: in a word, the whole group of those famous fooleries, with which ancient histories are stuffed, are now become the objects of ridicule and derision. In the same light we consider what Mr. Rollin has related, with so much gravity, in his ancient history, of king Nabis, who complimented all those who gave him money with the enjoyment of his wife, and placed such as refused to contribute in the arms of a handsome doll, resembling the queen exactly in outward appearance, but armed, under her petticoats, with sharp iron points. Who, when he hears so many authors repeating, one after another, that the famous Otho, archbishop of Mayence, was besieged and devoured by an army of rats, in 698; that Gisleony was deluged with showers of blood in 1017; and that two armies of serpents fought a battle near Tournay, in 1059: who, I say, on hearing such improbable stories as these, can refrain from laughing? prodigies, predictions, and fiery trials, &c. are now held in the same degree of credit and estimation with the fables of Herodotus.

I here mean to treat of modern history; in which you will find no dolls embracing courtiers, no bishops devoured by rats.

Some people take great pains, (and not without reason,) to mark the precise day on which a battle was fought. They relate every article of a treaty; they describe the pomp and solemnity of a coronation, the ceremony of receiving a cap, and even the entry of an ambassador, without for-

getting either his Swifs or lackeys. It is very proper that public records should be kept of every thing, that so we may be able to consult them on occasion; and indeed I consider all our large books at present as so many dictionaries. But after having read the descriptions of three or four thousand battles, and the substance of some hundreds of treaties, I do not find myself one jot wiser than when I began; because from them I learn nothing but events. The battle of Charles Martel gives me no more insight into the characters of the French and Saracens, than does the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet, into those of the Turks and Tartars. I own indeed, that when I read the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, and of madame de Motteville, I know every word of what the queen-mother said to Mr. de Jersey; I see how the coadjutor assisted in raising and strengthening the barricadoes; and I could almost make an abstract of the long conversations which he had with madame de Bouillon. This serves very well to gratify my curiosity; but contributes little to my instruction. There are some books that contain the true or false anecdotes of a court. Whoever hath seen courts, or is desirous of seeing them, is as fond of these illustrious trifles, as a country lady is of hearing the news of the paltry village from which she came.

At bottom both are guided by the same principle; and the motive that actuates the one is as noble as that which influences the other. Under the reign of Henry IV. the anecdotes of Charles IX. were the subject of conversation; and during the first years of Lewis XIV. the duke de Bellegarde was the favourite topic of discourse. All these trifles are preserved for an age or two, and then sink into eternal oblivion.

But the misfortune is, that in order to attain this superficial kind of knowledge, we neglect studies infinitely more useful and important. I want to know what was the strength of a nation before a war, and whether that war contributed to increase or diminish its strength. Was Spain richer before the conquest of the new world than it is at present? how much more populous was it in the time of Charles V. than in that of Philip IV? Why was it that Amsterdam, about two centuries ago, hardly contained twenty thousand souls? Why, at present, does it contain two hundred and forty thousand? and what is the most accurate method of determining the difference? How much more populous is England now than it was under Henry VIII? Is it true (as is alledged in the Persian Letters,) that the earth wants inhabitants; and that it is depopulated in comparison of what it was some two thousand years ago? Rome, it is true, contained at that time many more citizens than it does at present. I acknowledge too, that Alexandria and Carthage were great cities: but Paris, London, Constantinople, Grand Cairo, Amsterdam, and Hamburgh, were not then in being. There were three hundred nations in ancient Gaul; but these three hundred nations were not equal to ours, either in number of men, or in the knowledge and practice of the arts of peace. Germany was formerly a forest, now it is covered with a hundred opulent cities. One would be almost tempted to think that the spirit of invective, wearied with persecuting individuals, had attacked the whole human kind. The constant and general complaint is, that the world daily becomes at once more vicious and less populous. What then? have we any reason to regret our not having

lived in those times, when there was no high-way from Bourdeaux to Orleans, and when Paris was a small village, the inhabitants of which were perpetually cutting each other's throats? People may say what they will, but Europe certainly contains more men than it did formerly, and these men are more active and industrious. One may easily know how much Europe hath increased in people during the course of any number of years; for in almost all your great cities, a list of the births is published at the end of the year; and according to the sure and accurate method lately laid down by a Dutch gentleman, equally ingenious and indefatigable, one may calculate the number of people from that of the births.

This then will be a principal object of attention to every one that would read history like a citizen and philosopher. But he will take care not to confine his attention to this particular alone; he will enquire what hath been the prevailing virtue and vice of a nation; why it hath been powerful or weak by sea; and how and in what degree it has been enriched during the course of a century; these two last articles may be fully ascertained from the list of exportations. He will endeavour to learn how the arts and manufactures have been established, and will trace them through all their windings and turnings, in their progress from one country to another. In a word, the revolutions in the manners of the people, and in the laws of the land, will be the great object of his most serious study and attention. Thus, instead of obtaining a partial knowledge of the history of kings and courts, he will acquire a thorough insight into the characters of mankind.

In vain do I read the annals of France; all our histories are silent with regard to these interesting particulars. None of them have chosen for their motto, *Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*. We ought then, in my opinion, artfully to interweave these useful enquiries with the general contexture of events. This appears to me to be the only method of writing modern history like a true politician and a true philosopher. To write ancient history is, in effect, to mix a few truths with a thousand falsehoods. Perhaps the use of this history is much the same with that of ancient fables; the great events which it contains are the constant subjects of our paintings, our poems, our conversation; and from thence too we derive the grand outlines of morality. We should read the adventures of Alexander, as we do the labours of Hercules. In fine, ancient history seems to have the same relation to modern, that old medals have to the current coin; the former are repositied in the cabinets of the curious, the latter circulates through the world for the use and convenience of mankind.

But to undertake and execute such a work, the author must be possessed of several kinds of knowledge besides that of books; he must be encouraged by the government, as much, at least, for what he may perform, as were the Boileau's, the Racine's, and the Valincourt's, for what they never performed; so that what a witty clerk of the treasury said of these gentlemen may never be applicable to him. "We never saw any thing belonging to them but their seal."

ANECDOTES relating to PETER the GREAT,
Emperor of RUSSIA.

THE many important and difficult enterprises undertaken and executed by Peter I. none of which had ever entered into the thoughts of any of his predecessors, justly procured him the surname of Great. Before his time, the knowledge of the Russians was wholly confined to those simple arts which are the result of mere necessity. So powerful is the influence of habit over the generality of mankind, and so little desirous are they of what they don't understand; the genius unfolds itself with so much difficulty, and is so easily suppressed by the slightest obstacles, that there is great reason to believe, that all nations continued, for thousands of ages, in a state of the most profound ignorance, till, at last, such men as Peter the Great arose, at that precise period when it was proper they should arise.

A young gentleman of Geneva, called Le Fort, happened to be at Moscow, with the Danish ambassador, about the year 1695. He had learned the Russian tongue in a very short time, and spoke almost all the European languages. Peter the Great, who was then nineteen years of age, saw Le Fort, conceived a liking for him, took him at first into his service, and afterwards admitted him into the most intimate familiarity. From him he learned, that there was another manner of living and of reigning, than that, which, from time immemorial, had been unhappily established throughout his vast empire; and, had it not been for this young gentleman, Russia had still remained in its original state of rudeness and barbarity.

Peter

Peter must have been born with a soul truly great, otherwise he never would have listened so readily to the instructions of a stranger, nor been able to divest himself of all the prejudices of the prince and of the Russian. He soon perceived that he had a nation and an empire to form anew; but he was possessed of no means equal to the accomplishment of such an arduous and noble enterprise. From that time he took a resolution of leaving his dominions, and of going, like Prometheus, to borrow the heavenly fire to animate his compatriots. This celestial spark he went to search for among the Dutch, who, about three centuries before, were as destitute of it as the Russians themselves. He could not, however, carry his scheme into execution so soon as he could have wished. He was obliged to support a war against the Turks, or rather against the Tartars, in 1696; and it was not till after he had conquered his enemies, that he left his own dominions, and went to learn all the arts which were utterly unknown in Russia. The master of the largest empire in the universe lived almost two years at Amsterdam, and in the village of Sardam, under the name of Peter Michaeloff; though his common appellation was Mr. Peter Bas. He ordered his name to be enrolled among the carpenters of that famous village, which furnished ships to almost all Europe. He handled the adz and the compass; and, after having laboured in his shop at ship-building, he studied geography, geometry, and history. The mob at first crowded about him; but he soon checked their curiosity, by repelling his impertinent visitors with a good deal of rudeness and severity, which, however, those people, so remarkable for pride and resentment, bore with great patience.

patience. The first language he learned was the Dutch: he then applied himself to the German, which appeared to him a very smooth and harmonious tongue, and which he ordered to be spoke at his own court.

He acquired likewise a smattering of the English, in his voyage to London; but he never understood the French, which hath since become the language of Petersburg, under the empress Elizabeth, in proportion as the nation has been civilized and polished.

His stature was tall; his countenance was noble and majestic, but sometimes disfigured by convulsions, which even altered the features of his face. This defect in his organs was commonly attributed to the effects of poison, which was said to have been given him by his sister Sophia. But the true poison was the wine and brandy, in which, trusting too much to the strength of his constitution, he frequently indulged to excess.

He conversed as frankly with a common mechanic as with the general of an army. In this he acted, not like a barbarian, who makes no distinction between men of different ranks, nor like a popular prince, who wants to ingratiate himself with all the world; he acted like a man who was desirous of acquiring knowledge. He loved the women as much as his rival, the king of Sweden, dreaded them; and, as in eating, so in matters of gallantry, every thing was equally good. He valued himself much more on being able to drink a great quantity, than on possessing a nice and exquisite taste, capable of distinguishing your fine and delicious wines.

It is a common observation, that kings and legislators should not allow themselves to be hurried

ried away by the violence of passion ; but no man was ever more passionate, or less merciful, than Peter the Great. This is one of those defects in the character of a king, which it is impossible to excuse by a frank confession ; at last, however, he became sensible of his failing, and, in his second journey to Holland, he said to a magistrate of that country, " I have reformed my subjects, but have not been able to reform myself." It must be owned, however, that the cruelties with which he is reproached were as customary at the court of Moscow, as at that of Morocco. Nothing was more common, than to see a czar inflicting an hundred lashes with a bull's pizzle upon the naked shoulders of one of the first officers of the crown, or of a maid of honour, for having neglected their duty thro' drunkenness ; or trying the goodness of his sabre, by cutting off the head of a criminal. Peter had performed some of these Russian ceremonies. Le Fort, indeed, had gained such an ascendant over him, as to be able, sometimes, to stop his hand when he was just upon the point of striking ; but, unhappily, Le Fort was not always in his company.

His journey to Holland, and especially his taste for the arts, which now began to unfold itself, softened his manners a little ; for it is the natural tendency of all the arts to render men more humane and sociable. He often breakfasted with a geographer, with whom he made sea-charts. He passed whole days with the famous Ruisch, who first invented the art of making those curious injections, which have carried medicine to so high a degree of perfection, and have freed it from its former nauseousness. Peter gave himself, to the age of twenty-two, such an education, as a Dutch mechanic

mechanic would have given a son, in whom he perceived some sparks of genius ; and this education was much superior to what any emperor of Russia before him had ever received. At the same time, he sent the young Muscovites to travel and improve themselves in all the countries of Europe. But his first attempts of this nature were attended with little success. His new disciples did not imitate the example of their master ; there was even one of them that had been sent to Venice, who never came out of his chamber, that so he might have no cause to reproach himself with having seen any other country than Russia. This strong aversion to foreign countries was infused into them by their priests, who alledged that travelling was an unpardonable crime in a Christian, for the same reason that the Jews, in the Old Testament, had been forbid to assume the manners of their neighbours, more rich and more industrious than themselves.

In 1698 he left Amsterdam, and went to England, not in the character of a ship-wright, nor in that of a sovereign, but under the name of a Russian gentleman who travelled for his instruction *. He saw and examined every thing : he even went to the representation of an English comedy,

* Peter expressed a desire to see the manner in which British criminals were punished with death ; but, it proving what is called a maiden session at the Old Baily, he grew impatient and complained to king William, who told him he could not help his being disappointed, as no person had been condemned, and he had no right to take away the life of any subject until he should receive the sentence of the law. " If that be the case, (said Peter) you may take any of my retinue, and cause them to be executed in the English manner." But this offer his Britannick majesty thought proper to decline,

though

though he did not understand a word of it; but he found in the play-house an actress, called Miss Crofts, from whom he received some favours, without having the generosity to make her fortune.

King William caused a convenient house to be fitted up for his accommodation, which in London is a very great compliment. Palaces are not common in that immense city: there you hardly see any thing but low houses, with paultry gates, like those of our shops, without court or garden. Indifferent as the house was, the czar found it too handsome; and, that he might have the better opportunity of improving himself in sea-affairs, he took up his lodging in Wapping. He frequently dressed himself in the habit of a sailor, and made use of this disguise to engage several seamen in his service.

It was at London that he formed the design of drawing the Volga and the Tanais into the same channel. He even intended to join the Dwina to these two rivers by a canal; and thus to re-unite the Ocean and the Black and Caspian Seas. The English, whom he carried along with him, served him but poorly in this great project; and the Turks, who took Asoph from him in 1712, opposed the execution of such a vast undertaking*.

As he happened to want money at London, the merchants of that city offered him an hundred thousand crowns, provided he would grant them a liberty of transporting tobacco into Russia. This was not only a great novelty in Muscovy, but was even inconsistent with the established religion. The

* If we may believe Capt. Perry, whom Peter engaged as chief engineer in this great work, the English were treated with equal ingratitude and brutality.

patriarch had excommunicated every one that smoked tobacco, because their enemies, the Turks, smoked; and the clergy considered it as one of the greatest privileges of their order, to hinder the Russians from smoking. The czar, however, accepted the hundred thousand crowns, and undertook to introduce the practice of smoking even among the clergy themselves. He likewise resolved to make several other innovations in the religious system.

Kings are commonly wont to make presents to such illustrious travellers; and the present which William made to Peter was a genteel compliment, worthy of them both; he gave him a yacht of twenty-five guns, an excellent sailer, gilt like a Roman altar, and stored with all kinds of provisions; and the whole ship's crew cheerfully consented that they should be included in the present. In this yacht, of which himself was the chief pilot, Peter returned to Holland to re-visit his carpenters. From thence, about the middle of the year 1698, he went to Vienna, where there was no necessity for his tarrying so long as at London, because, at the court of the grave Leopold, there was much more ceremony to be performed, and far less instruction to be gained. After having seen Vienna, he intended to have gone to Venice, and thence to Rome; but a civil war, occasioned by his absence, and by the permission of smoking, obliged him immediately to return to Moscow. The strelits, the ancient troops of the czars, somewhat akin to the janissaries, as turbulent, as undisciplined, less brave, but not less barbarous, were instigated to revolt by some monks and abbots, half Greeks and half Russians, who persuaded them that God was highly provoked at the
intro-

introduction of tobacco into Muscovy; and thus threw the whole nation into a flame about this important quarrel. Peter, who was fully apprized of the great power of the monks and strelits, had taken his measures accordingly. He had a numerous body of forces, composed almost entirely of foreigners, well disciplined, well paid, and well armed, and who smoked under the command of general Gordon, a man thoroughly versed in the art of war, and no friend to the monks. This was the very point in which the sultan Osman had failed, when endeavouring, like Peter, to reform his janissaries, and having no power to oppose to their refractory spirit, he was so far from being able to reform them, that he lost his life in the attempt.

Peter's armies were now put upon the same footing with those of the other European princes. He employed his English and Dutch carpenters in building ships at Veronitz, upon the Tanais, four hundred leagues from Moscow. He embellished the towns, provided for their safety, made highways five hundred leagues in length, established manufactures of every kind; and, what clearly shews the profound ignorance in which the Russians had formerly lived, their first manufacture was that of pins. They now make flowered velvets and gold and silver stuffs at Moscow. Such mighty things may be performed by one man, when he is an absolute sovereign, and knows how to exert his authority!

The war he waged against Charles XII. in order to recover the provinces which the Swedes had formerly taken from the Russians, notwithstanding the bad success with which it was at first attended, did not hinder him from continuing his reformation,

tions, both in church and state; and accordingly, at the end of 1699, he ordered that the ensuing year should commence in the month of January, and not in the month of September. The Russians, who thought that God had created the world in September, were surprised to hear that their czar had power to alter what God had established. This alteration began with the eighteenth century, and was ushered in by a grand jubilee, which the czar appointed by his own authority; for having suppressed the dignity of the patriarch, he exercised all the functions of that office himself. It is not true, as is commonly reported, that he put the patriarch into the mad-house of Moscow. Whenever he had a mind, at once to divert himself and inflict punishment, he was wont to say to the delinquent, "I make you a fool;" and the person to whom he gave this pretty appellation, were he even the first nobleman of the kingdom, was forced to carry a bauble, jacket, and bells, and to divert the court in quality of his czarish majesty's fool. This task, however, he did not impose upon the patriarch; he contented himself with simply suppressing an employment, which those, who had enjoyed it, had abused to such a degree, that they obliged the emperors to walk before them once a year, holding the bridle of the patriarchal horse; a ceremony which Peter the Great immediately abolished.

In order to have more subjects, he resolved to have fewer monks; and accordingly ordained, that, for the future, no person under fifty years of age should be allowed to take the habit of that order; the consequence of which was, that in his time, of all the countries that contained monks, Russia contained the fewest; but after his death,

this weed, which he had so happily extirpated, regerminated afresh, owing partly to that natural foible of all monks, the desire of enlarging their numbers, and partly to the foolish indulgence of some governments, in tolerating such a pernicious practice.

He likewise made some prudent regulations relating to the clergy, and tending to the reformation of their lives, although his own, in all conscience, was licentious enough; but he wisely judged, that many things are allowable in a sovereign, that would be extremely indecent in a curate. Before his time, the women lived perpetually secluded from the men. In Russia it was a thing unheard of, that a husband should ever see the lady he was to marry. The first acquaintance he contracted with her was at church; and one of the nuptial presents was a large handful of twigs, which the bridegroom sent to the bride, as a kind of warning, that, on the first transgression, she had reason to expect a little matrimonial correction. Husbands had even a power of killing their wives with impunity; but such wives as usurped the same right over their husbands, were buried alive.

Peter abolished the bundles of twigs; prohibited the husbands from killing their wives; and, in order to match the two sexes with greater prudence and equality, and by that means to render the married state more happy, he introduced the custom of making the men and women eat together, and of presenting the suitors to their mistresses before the celebration of the marriage. In a word, he prosecuted his salutary schemes with such vigour and resolution, that he at last established the social state throughout all his dominions.

Every

Every one knows the regulation he made for obliging his noblemen and their ladies to hold assemblies, where all transgressions against the Russian politeness were punished by obliging the delinquent to drink a large glass of brandy, so that the honourable company frequently went home much intoxicated, and little corrected. But it was a work of no small merit to introduce even a kind of imperfect society among a people, who had hitherto lived in a state of the grossest barbarity. He even ventured to exhibit some dramatic performances. The princess Natalia, one of his sisters, wrote some tragedies in the Russian tongue, not unlike to those of Shakespear, in which tyrants and harlequins form the principal characters. The band of music was composed of Russian fiddles, upon which they played with bulls pizzles. They have now French comedies and Italian operas at Petersburg; in every thing, grandeur and taste hath succeeded to barbarity. One of the most difficult attempts of this great founder of the Russian empire was to shorten the coats of his subjects, and to make them shave their beards. This was the subject of great murmuring, and of many complaints. How was it possible to teach a whole nation to make their cloaths after the German fashion, and to handle the razor? arduous, however, as was the undertaking, it was at last accomplished, by placing at the gates of every town a sufficient number of taylors and barbers; the former clipped the coats, and the latter shaved the beards, of all those who entered; and such as refused to submit to these regulations, were obliged to pay a fine equal to forty pence of our coin. But, in a short time, the people chused much rather to part with their beards than their money.

The

The women, who greatly preferred a smooth to a rough chin, assisted the czar in this reformation: to him they were obliged for being exempted from the discipline of the whip, for being indulged with the company of the men, and for having smoother and more decent faces to kiss.

While Peter amused himself in making these reformations, and while he was engaged in a bloody war against Charles XII. he laid, in 1704, the foundations of the large city and harbour of Petersburg, in a morass, where there was not before so much as a single cottage. He laboured with his own hands in building the first house: no difficulties were sufficient to abate his ardour: workmen were compelled to come from the frontiers of Astracan, and from the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas, to the coast of the Baltick. Upwards of an hundred thousand men perished in the undertaking, partly by the severe labour they were obliged to undergo, and partly by the want and hardships to which they were exposed; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, the city was at last raised. The harbours of Archangel, of Astracan, and of Veronick, were likewise built.

To defray the expences of executing so many mighty projects, of supporting fleets in the Baltick Sea, and of maintaining an hundred thousand regular troops, the public revenue, at that time, was only about twenty millions of livres. I have seen an exact account of it, in the possession of a gentleman who had been an ambassador at Petersburg. But the wages of the workmen were proportioned to the wealth of the kingdom. It ought to be remembered, that the construction of the pyramids cost the kings of Egypt nothing but
C onions.

onions. I repeat it again; we have only to exert our utmost endeavours; we can never exert them enough.

After having, as it were, created his nation, Peter thought he might take the liberty of gratifying his own humour, by espousing his mistress, a mistress who well deserved to be his wife; and accordingly the marriage was solemnized in public, in the year 1712. This lady was the famous Catharine, originally an orphan, born in the village of Ringen, in Estonia, brought up by a vicar out of mere charity, married to a Livonian soldier, and taken prisoner by a party of the enemy two days after her marriage. She was first a servant in the family of general Bauer, and afterwards in that of Menzikoff, who, from a pastry-cook's boy, became a prince of the empire, and the first subject in the nation. At last she was married to Peter the Great; and, after his death, became empress of Russia, a dignity to which her great virtues and abilities gave her a just claim. She softened the ferocity of her husband's manners to a very considerable degree; and saved many more backs from the knout, and many more heads from the ax, than ever general Le Fort had been able to do. The people loved her, they revered her. A German baron, a master of horse to an abbé de Fulde, would have disdained to have married Catharine; but Peter thought, that with him merit did not need to be set off by a genealogy of thirty-two descents. Princes are apt to believe, that there is no grandeur but what they confer; and that with them all men are equal. Certain it is, birth makes no more difference between one man and another than between an ass whose sire carried dung, and an ass whose father carried

carried relicks. Education makes a great difference, talents make a greater, and fortune the greatest of all. Catharine had received, from her curate of Estonia, an education as good, at least, as any lady of Moscow, or of Archangel; and she was born with greater abilities, and with a more exalted soul. She had managed the family of general Bauer, and that of prince Menzikoff, without being able either to read or write. Whoever is capable to rule a large family is likewise capable to rule a kingdom. This perhaps may seem to be a paradox; but undoubtedly it requires the same oeconomy, the same wisdom and resolution, to command a hundred persons, as to command several thousand.

The czarowitz Alexis, son to the czar, who, like him, had married a slave, and, like him, had privately quitted Muscovy, had not the same success in his two undertakings. He even lost his life in an ill-judged attempt to copy the example of his father. This was one of the most shocking acts of severity that ever sovereign exercised: but what reflects great honour upon the memory of the empress Catharine, she had no hand in the untimely fate of this prince, who was sprung from another bed, and who hated every thing that his father loved; Catharine was never accused of having acted the cruel step-mother. The great crime of the unhappy Alexis was, that he was too much a Russian, and that he disapproved of all the noble and illustrious things which his father had done for the glory and emolument of the nation. One day, as he heard some Muscovites complain of the hard labour they were obliged to endure in building Petersburg, "Take comfort, said he, this city shall not stand long." When he ought

to have been attending his father, in those journeys of five or six hundred leagues which the czar frequently undertook, he pretended to be sick: the physicians purged him severely for a disease with which he was not troubled; and so many medicines, joined to great quantities of brandy, at once impaired his health and altered his temper. He discovered at first an inclination to learning; he understood geometry and history, and had learned the German language; but he neither loved war, nor would he study the art of it; and this was the fault with which his father chiefly reproached him. He had been married in 1711, to the princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to the empress, the wife of Charles IV. This marriage proved very unhappy; the company of the princess was often abandoned for a debauch of brandy, and for the caresses of one Afrosina, a Finland girl, tall, handsome, and agreeable. Some people pretend that the princess died of grief, if, indeed, grief can ever be the occasion of death; and that afterwards the czarowitz named Afrosina privately, in 1716, just at the time when the empress Catharine brought him a brother; a present with which he could willingly have dispensed.

The disgust between the father and son became every day more inveterate, till at last, in 1716, Peter threatened to disinherit the prince, and the latter declared his intention of taking the monkish habit.

In 1717, the czar resumed his travels, as well from political views, as from the motive of curiosity; and accordingly he now repaired to France. Had his son been inclined to revolt, had he in reality secured a party in his interest, this was the time to carry his scheme into execution; but, instead

instead of continuing in Russia and gaining partisans, he went to travel like his father; after having, with great difficulty, collected a few thousand ducats, which he privately borrowed. He now threw himself into the arms of the emperor Charles VI. the brother-in-law of his deceased wife. For some time he lived *incognito* at Vienna; from thence he went to Naples, where he remained almost a year, without either the czar, or any one in Russia, knowing where he was.

While the son lay thus concealed, the father was at Paris, where he was treated with all the respect and deference which he had met with in other countries, and with a politeness which he could find no where but in France. If he went to see a manufacture, and was charmed with any particular piece of work, he was sure, next day, to receive it in a present. He went to dine with the duke d'Antin, at Petitbourg, where the first thing presented to his view was his own picture at full length, with the same dress which he wore. When he went to see the royal collection of medals, the minters struck several medals of every kind before him, and presented them to him with great politeness; at last they struck one, which they purposely let fall at his feet, and left him to pick it up; on this he saw himself engraved in a very elegant manner, with these words, PETER THE GREAT. The reverse was a Fame, with this inscription, *Vires acquirit eundo*; an allegory equally just and flattering to a prince, who really encreased his knowledge by his travels.

Upon seeing the tomb of cardinal de Richelieu, and the statue of that great minister, worthy of the personage whom it represents, Peter discovered one of those violent transports, and ex-

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pressed one of those noble sentiments, which none but great souls are capable of feeling. He mounted the tomb, and embracing the statue, "Great statesman, said he, why was you not born in my time; I would have given you one half of my empire, to teach me to govern the other." A gentleman, possessed of less enthusiasm than the czar, upon hearing the explanation of these words, which were originally pronounced in the Russian language, observed, "That if he had given him one half of it, he would not have been long able to preserve the other."

The czar, after having traversed France, where every thing disposes the mind to gentleness and clemency, returned to his own country, and there resumed all his former severity. Having prevailed upon his son to leave Naples and repair to Petersburg, the young prince was conducted from thence to Moscow, and brought into the presence of his father, who immediately deprived him of his right of succession, and made him sign a solemn deed of renunciation, about the latter end of January 1713, in consideration of which he promised to grant him his life.

It was not however improbable, that such an act might one day be reversed; in order, therefore, to strengthen it the more, Peter forgetting his paternal character, and considering himself only as the founder of an empire, which his son perhaps might replunge into barbarity, he caused a process to be openly commenced against this unhappy prince, touching some reservations he was supposed to have made in the act of renunciation, which had been extorted from him.

An assembly of bishops, abbots, and professors, was convoked; these reverend judges found, that,

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in the Old Testament, those who cursed their father and mother were worthy of death : that, indeed, David had pardoned his son Absalom, who had revolted against him ; but that God had never pardoned him. Such was their opinion, without coming to any conclusion ; and yet, it was the same in fact as if they had signed a warrant for his execution. Alexis had never cursed his father ; he had never revolted like Absalom ; he had never lain publicly with the king's concubines ; he had travelled indeed without the king's permission, and he had writ some letters to his friends, in which he had only expressed his hopes that they would, one day, remember him in Russia. But, notwithstanding those favourable circumstances, of the hundred and twenty-four secular judges who sat on his trial, there was not one that did not vote for his death ; and such of them as could not write caused their names to be signed by others. A report has been spread abroad in Europe, and it has been often committed to writing, that the czar caused to be translated, from the Spanish into the Russian language, the criminal process against Don Carlos, that unfortunate prince and heir of a great kingdom, whom his father Philip II. threw into prison, where he miserably ended his days : but the truth is, there never was any process commenced against Don Carlos ; nor was the manner of his death, whether natural or violent, ever fully known. Besides, Peter, of all princes the most despotic, needed not any precedents. What is certain is, that the son died in his bed the day after the trial, and Peter had then at Moscow one of the best furnished apothecaries shops in Europe. It is probable, however,

that the death of prince Alexis, the heir of the most extensive empire in the universe, and unanimously condemned by those who were now his father's subjects, and who, had he lived, would have one day become his, might be owing to the terrible shock which a sentence so fatal and unprecedented must have given to his constitution. The father went to see his son when just upon the point of expiring, and is said to have shed some tears. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea fata nepotes.* But notwithstanding his tears, the wheels were covered with the broken limbs of his son's friends. He even beheaded his own brother-in-law, the count Lapuchin, brother to his wife Ottokesa Lapuchin, whom he had divorced, and uncle to prince Alexis, whose confessor likewise lost his head. If the Russians have been civilized, it must be confessed they have paid dearly for their politeness.

The remaining part of the czar's life was spent in the prosecution of those great designs, and of those noble schemes and projects, which seemed to efface the memory of his cruelties, which, after all, perhaps, were absolutely necessary. He frequently made speeches to his court and council; in one of these he told them, that he had sacrificed his son to the safety and welfare of his dominions.

After the glorious peace which he at last concluded with Sweden, in 1721, by which he obtained the whole of Livonia, Estonia, and Ingermania, and the half of Carelia and Vibourg, the states of Russia bestowed upon him the name of Great, of Father of his Country, and of Emperor. The states were represented by the senate, who solemnly conferred these titles upon him in presence of the count de Kinski, minister of the
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emperor ; of Mr. de Campredon, envoy of France, and the ambassadors of Prussia and Holland. The European princes have been gradually accustomed to give this title of emperor to the Russian sovereign ; but this dignity does not hinder the French ambassador from taking the right-hand of those of Russia upon all occasions.

The Russians ought undoubtedly to regard Peter as the greatest of men. From the coasts of the Baltick Sea to the frontiers of China, he is a hero : but ought he to be considered in the same light among us ? Is he comparable to our Condés, or our Villars, in valour, or to an infinite number of our cotemporaries, in knowledge, in genius, and in morals ? No : but he was a king, and a king badly educated ; and he performed what, perhaps, a thousand sovereigns in his situation would never have accomplished. He was possessed of that strength of mind, which raises a man above all kinds of prejudice, as well with regard to the past as the present. He was an architect who built with brick, and who, in any other country, would have built with marble. Had he reigned in France, he would have carried the arts, from the condition in which they now are, to the highest degree of perfection. His having five and twenty large ships on the Baltick Sea was an object of admiration : in our ports he would have had two hundred.

From a view of what he has done at Petersburg, one may easily judge what he would have done at Paris. What surprises me the most, is, the little reason there was to hope that such a man as Peter the Great should ever have arisen at Moscow. It was as all the men who have ever inhabited Russia is

to one, that a genius, so different from the general character of their nation, would never be bestowed upon any Russian; and it was still farther, as sixteen million, the number of the Russians at present, is to one, that this genius would not fall to the lot of the czar in particular. But, notwithstanding these improbabilities, the thing has actually happened. A prodigious number of favourable circumstances must have concurred; an infinite series of ages must have elapsed before nature produced the man who invented the plough, or him to whom we are indebted for the art of weaving. The Russians now-a-days are not surprised at their rapid progress; in less than fifty years they have become so familiarly acquainted with all the arts, that one would imagine they had been in possession of them for a much greater length of time. There are still vast tracts of land in Africa that require the reforming hand of a Peter the Great: such a one may happen to come in some millions of years; for every thing is too late in coming.

PIECES relating to the HISTORY of
CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN.

LETTER to Marechal SCHULLEMBURG, Ge-
neral of the VENETIANS*.

S I R,

I Received, by a courier of the French ambaf-
fador, the journal of your campaign in 1703
and 1704, with which your excellency has
been pleased to honour me. Allow me, Sir, to
apply to you what an ancient writer said of Cæ-
far; *Eodem animo scripsit quo bellavit*. You must
expect, Sir, that so great a favour will make me
extremely selfish, and will expose you to fresh re-
quests. I beg you would communicate to me
whatever can give me any light into the particu-
lars of the war of Charles XII. I have the honour
to send you a journal of that king's campaigns;
a king worthy of having fought with you. This
journal reaches to the battle of Pultowa inclusive.
It is the work of a Swedish officer, called Mr.
Alderfeld, who appears to be extremely well in-
formed, and as accurate as it is possible to be on
a subject of this nature. It is not a history; far
from it; but it contains excellent materials for
the composition of a history; and I flatter myself
I shall be able to correct mine in many particulars
by the memoirs of this officer.

* Dated at the Hague, Sept. 15, 1740.

Besides, Sir, I must own to you, it was with particular pleasure I found in these memoirs a variety of circumstances that tally exactly with the informations from which I compiled my history. I, who doubt of every thing, and especially of anecdotes, began to condemn myself touching a number of facts which I had advanced. For instance, I could no longer believe that Mr. de Guiscard, the French ambassador, was on board the ship of Charles XII. in the expedition to Copenhagen. I began to repent of having said, that the cardinal primate, who had so great a hand in dethroning king Augustus, secretly opposed the election of king Stanislaus. I was almost ashamed of having affirmed that the duke of Marlborough, when he went to have a conference with Charles XII. addressed himself to baron de Gorts before he saw count Piper. Mr. de la Motraye had censured me for all these facts, with a confidence which, I imagined, could proceed from nothing but better information; notwithstanding which, they are all confirmed by the memoirs of Mr. Alderfeld.

In these memoirs I find that the king of Sweden, agreeable to what I had said, sometimes eat with king Augustus, whom he had dethroned, and that he always gave him the right hand. In them I find, that the kings Augustus and Stanislaus met at the court of the latter, and saluted each other without exchanging a word: there, likewise, mention is made of the extraordinary visit which Charles paid to Augustus at Dresden, upon leaving his dominions. There, even, the witticism of baron Siralheim is quoted word for word, in the same manner as I have related it.

In the preface to Mr. Alderfeld's book, the editor talks in the following strain :

“ With regard to Mr. de la Motraye, who hath officiously taken upon him to criticize Mr. de Voltaire, the perusal of these memoirs will only serve to confound him, and make him sensible of his own errors, which are much more numerous than those he imputes to his adversary.”

True it is, Sir, and I plainly perceive it by this journal, I have been mistaken with regard to the minute circumstances of several military transactions. I have, indeed, ascertained the exact number of the Swedish and Muscovite troops at the famous battle of Narva; but on many other occasions I have fallen into mistakes. Time, you know, is the parent of truth; which, after all, I am afraid we have but little reason to hope that ever we shall be able fully to discover. You will see, Sir, that Mr. Alderfeld does not agree with you concerning some points relating to your admirable passage over the Oder; but I will believe the German general, who must necessarily have known all the particulars of this passage, much rather than the Swedish officer, who could not possibly know any more than a few of them.

By the memoirs of your excellency, and by those of this officer, I intend to correct my history. I likewise expect an extract of a history of Charles XII. written in Swedish by Mr. Norberg, chaplain to that monarch.

Indeed, I am much afraid that the chaplain has sometimes viewed matters with other eyes than the ministers, who have furnished me with materials. I shall esteem him, to be sure, for his zeal in defending the honour of his master: but I, who never was chaplain to the king, nor to the
czar;

czar ; I, whose sole ambition is to speak the truth, will always acknowledge, that the inflexible obstinacy of Charles XII. at Bender, his resolution of lying six months in bed, and many of his measures after the unhappy battle of Pultowa, appear to me more extraordinary than heroic.

If there is any possibility of rendering history useful, it is only, in my opinion, by pointing out the good and ill which kings have done to mankind. I think, for instance, that if Charles XII. after having subdued Denmark, beat the Russians, deposed his enemy Augustus, and established the new king on the throne of Poland, had granted peace to the czar, who begged it of him ; had he returned home the conqueror and peace-maker of the North, and employed his attention in encouraging the arts and commerce in his country, he would then indeed have been truly a great man, instead of being but a great warrior, vanquished at last by a prince whom he despised. It were to be wished, for the happiness of the world, that Peter the Great had been sometimes less cruel, and Charles XII. less wedded to his own opinion.

I greatly prefer to both these sovereigns, a prince who regards humanity as the chief virtue, who never has recourse to war but through absolute necessity, who loves peace because he loves mankind, who encourages all the arts, and who, in one word, though a king, endeavours to act like a philosopher. Such, Sir, is my hero ; nor think that it is only a creature of the imagination. This hero actually exists in the person of a young king, whose fame will soon reach even to your parts ; you will then see whether or not I am deceived : he deserves such generals as you. To write the history

history of such kings is a pleasing task ; for then we write the history of human happiness.

But if you carefully examine this journal of Mr. Alderfeld, you will find in it little else, but that, on Monday the third of April, there were so many thousand men butchered in such a field : that, on Tuesday, whole villages were reduced to ashes, and the women, clasping their little babes in their arms, were consumed with them in the same flames : that, on Thursday, a thousand bombs levelled the houses of a free and innocent city with the ground, for not having paid immediately a hundred thousand crowns to a foreign conqueror who happened to pass by its walls : and that, on Friday, fifteen or sixteen hundred prisoners perished with cold and hunger. These, or such as these, are the materials which compose the subject of his four volumes.

Have you not frequently thought, M. Mareschal, that your illustrious trade is more shocking than necessary ? I see Mr. Alderfeld sometimes disguises cruelties, which ought, in effect, to be forgotten, in order to prevent their ever becoming the object of imitation. For example, I have been credibly informed, that, at the battle of Frauenstad, marshal Renschild caused twelve or fifteen hundred Muscovites to be put to death in cold blood, six hours after the action, tho' they begged their lives on their knees. He alledges there were only six hundred, and that they were put to death immediately after the battle. This is a circumstance, Sir, of which you cannot be ignorant : you made the admirable disposition of the Swedish troops even in this unhappy engagement ; be so good, then, as to tell me the truth,
for

for which I have as great a regard as I have for your glory.

I expect, with extreme impatience, the other instructions with which you shall be pleased to honour me. Allow me to ask your opinion of the march of Charles XII. into the Ukraine, of his retreat into Turkey, and of the death of Patkul : you can easily dictate many things to a secretary, which will serve to throw light upon several truths ; a favour for which the public will acknowledge themselves greatly obliged to you. You are bound in duty, Sir, to communicate knowledge to mankind, in return for the admiration which they so justly entertain of your merit. I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, and with the most sincere wishes for the preservation of a life, of which you have frequently been so prodigal,

Sir, your Excellency's most humble
and most obedient Servant, V.

P. S. Just as I had finished my letter, I was informed, that a French translation of the history of Charles XII. written in Swedish by Mr. Norberg, has been printed at the Hague. This will be a new pallet *, in which I shall dip the pencils with which I must retouch my picture.

* This pallet could not answer the purpose. It is well known that the history of Charles XII. by Mr. Norberg, is no more, to the year 1709, than a confused collection of facts ill related ; and from 1709, than a copy of the history composed by Mr. de Voltaire.

LETTER to Mr. NORBERG, Chaplain to
CHARLES XII. king of SWEDEN, and Author
of a history of that Monarch.

PERMIT me, Sir, after having taken the trouble to read that part of your history of Charles XII. which is already published, to address to you some just complaints, both with regard to your manner of treating that history, and the freedom which, in your preface, you presume to use with those who have treated it before you.

I love the truth; but the old proverb, "All truths ought not to be told," relates chiefly to insignificant truths. Be pleased to recollect that passage in the preface to the history of Mr. de Voltaire. "The history of a prince, says he, is not all that he ever did, but only what he did worthy of being transmitted to posterity."

There are some readers, perhaps, who will be glad to see the catechism which Charles XII. was taught, and will take great pleasure * in being informed, that in 1693, doctor Peter Rudbekius conferred the degree of doctor upon the masters of arts Aquinus, Samuel Virenius, Ennegius, Herlandus, Stukius, and upon other personages, extremely respectable, no doubt, but who had very little concern in the battles, the triumphs, and defeats of your hero.

Perhaps it is a matter of great importance to Europe, to know that the chapel of the castle of Stockholm, which was burnt about fifty years

* History of Charles XII. by Norberg, page 9. Hufson's edition.

ago, stood in the new aisle, on the north side; and that there were in it two pictures of the intendant Kloker, which are now in the church of St. Nicholas; that the seats were covered with blue on days of public service; that some of them were of oak, and others of walnut-tree*; and that, instead of large lustres, there were small flat candle-sticks, which did not fail to produce a very happy effect; that there were there to be seen four figures of plaister of Paris, and that the pavement was black and white.

We will further believe*, that it is a thing of great consequence to be well informed, that there was no base gold in the canopy which served at the coronation of Charles XII. to know what were the dimensions of it; whether the church was hung with red or blue cloth; and what was the height of the benches. All this may have its weight with those who want to acquire a thorough knowledge of every the most minute concern of princes.

After the tedious detail of these mighty matters, you tell us at what hour Charles XII. was crowned; but you do not tell us why he was crowned before the age prescribed by law; why the queen-mother was deprived of the regency; how the famous Piper gained the confidence of the king; what was the strength of Sweden at that time, what the number of its people, who were its allies, and what its government, its wants, and resources.

You have given us a part of the military journal of Mr. Alderfeld; but a journal, Sir, is no more a history than materials are a house. Allow me to tell

* Page 21.

† Page 31, 32.

you, a history does not consist in particularizing petty facts, in producing manifestos, replies, and rejoinders. This is not the manner in which Quintus Curtius composed the history of Alexander, or in which Livy and Tacitus wrote the Roman history. There are a thousand journalists; but hardly have we two or three modern historians. We could wish that those who prepare the colours would give them to some painter in order to form a picture.

You cannot be ignorant, Sir, that Mr. de Voltaire had published this declaration which your translator repeats.

“* I love the truth and have no other aim nor interest than to know it. Those passages in my history of Charles XII. in which I shall find myself to have been mistaken, shall be altered. It is natural to think that Mr. Norberg, a Swede, and an eye-witness, should be better informed than me, who am a stranger. I shall correct my history by his memoirs, and will do it with pleasure.”

You see, Sir, with what politeness Mr. de Voltaire mentioned your name, and with what deference he expected your performance, though he had received memoirs for the compilation of his own from the hands of several ambassadors, with whom it would appear you had little connection, and even from the hands of more than one sovereign.

To this French politeness, Sir, you reply in a manner that favours something of a Gothic taste.

* Hutton's edition, 4to. page 13.

You say, in your preface*, that the history published by Mr. de Voltaire is not worth the pains of translating; though, in fact, it hath been translated into almost all the European languages, and hath undergone eight editions at London, in an English dress. You there add very politely, that a Puffendorf would have treated him as he did Varillas, as an arch liar.

In order to prove this charitable supposition, you take care to mark on the margin of your book all the capital errors into which he has fallen.

You particularly observe, that major-general Stuart did not receive a slight wound in the shoulder, as the French author, after a German writer, rashly affirms, but only a pretty severe contusion. You cannot deny that Mr. de Voltaire has faithfully related the battle of Narva, which in his book at least forms an interesting description. You must certainly know, that he is the only writer who has dared to affirm that Charles XII. fought the battle of Narva with no more than eight thousand men. All the other historians give him twenty thousand: they say what is probable; but Mr. de Voltaire is the first that has told the truth in this important article. Nevertheless, you call him an arch liar, because he said that a suit of red laced cloaths was brought to general Liewen, at the siege of Thorn; and you magnify this enormous error, by positively asserting that the lace was not upon a red ground.

But what name will suit you, Sir, you who so lavishly bestow, about matters of such mighty con-

sequence, the genteel appellation of arch liar, not only upon a man who is extremely fond of the truth, but likewise upon all the other historians who have writ the history of Charles XII. what name, Sir, will suit you, after the copy you give of the grand signor's letter to that monarch? Here follows the beginning of the letter.

“ We * Sultan Bashha, to king Charles XII. by the grace of God king of Sweden and of the Goths, health, &c.”

How could you, Sir, who have been among the Turkṣ, and who seem to have learned from them not to be very nice in the choice of your words, how could you be ignorant of their stile? What Turkish emperor ever designed himself “ Sultan Bashha?” What letter of the divan ever began in this manner? What prince ever wrote that he would send plenipotentiaries, the first opportunity, in order to learn the particulars of a battle? what letter of the grand signor ever concluded with this expression, “ To the protection of God?” In fine, when did you ever see an express from Constantinople dated in the year of the creation, and not in that of the Hegira? The iman of the august sultap, who shall write the history of that great emperor and his sublime viziers, may well give you many opprobrious appellations, if the Turkish politeness admits of such rusticity.

Does it then become you, Sir, after the production of such a piece as this, which would offend that same Mr. Baron Puffendorf, to exclaim against a lie about a red coat?

Besides, are you a zealous advocate for the truth, when you conceal the cruelties exercised by the chamber of liquidations under Charles XI. when, in speaking of Patkul, you pretend to forget that he defended the rights of the Livonians, who had committed them to his charge; of those same Livonians who now live happily under the mild government of the illustrious Semiramis of the North? This, Sir, is not barely to betray the truth; it is to betray the cause of mankind; it is to fail in your duty to your illustrious country, which is an enemy to oppression.

Cease then in your compilation, to bestow your Vandalic and Gothic epithets upon those who write history: cease to assume to yourself a right of employing that same barbarous pedantry which you impute to Puffendorf.

Do you know, Sir, that Puffendorf is an author sometimes as incorrect as he is fashionable? do you know that he is read, because he is only one of the kind that was tolerable in his time? do you know that those whom you call arch liars, would blush if they did not understand the history of the world better than your Puffendorf? do you know that Mr. de la Martiniere corrected more than a thousand errors in the last edition of that book?

Let us open this book at a venture, which is so universally known. I light upon the article of the popes. He says, in speaking of Julius II. "That he left behind him, as well as Alexander " VI. a bad name." Nevertheless the Italians revere the memory of Julius II. They consider him as a great man, who, after having presided in four conclaves, and commanded armies, pursued, even to his grave, the glorious scheme he had formed of chasing the barbarians from Italy. He

was a lover of the arts; he laid the foundation of that church, which is the wonder of the universe; he encouraged painting, sculpture, and architecture, and, at the same time, he rekindled the extinguished valour of the Romans. The Italians despise, and with good reason too, the ridiculous manner in which the greatest part of foreigners write the history of the popes. We ought to be capable to distinguish the pontiff from the sovereign: we ought to be capable, though born at Stockholm, to entertain a high opinion of the popes: we ought to remember the saying of the great count de Medicis, viz. "That kingdoms are not governed with pater-nosters." In a word, a historian should be a man of no country, and of no party.

If we again open baron Puffendorf's book, we shall find it asserted, in the article of Mary queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. "That she could not be recognized as his legitimate daughter without the authority of the pope." What a croud of errors in these few words! she had been recognized by the parliament: and besides, what need had she of the assistance of Rome, in order to confirm her legitimation, since it never had been either the interest or the intention of the Romish church to annul the marriage of her mother?

In reading the article of Charles V. I find that, before the year 1516, Charles had always in his eye his famous maxim, *ne plus ultra*: but he was then but fifteen years of age; and that motto was not composed till a long time after.

Shall we, on account of these errors, pronounce Puffendorf to be an arch liar? no: we will rather acknowledge that, in such an extensive work, a few mistakes are excusable; and we would entreat
you,

you, Sir, to be more accurate than he is ; more thoroughly acquainted than you yet seem to be with the stile of the Turks, more polite with the French ; in a word, to be more just and judicious in the choice of the facts you relate.

Among the many advantages with which the art of printing hath been attended, this is one inconvenience, that crouds of scandalous pamphlets are published, to the disgrace of genius and of good manners. Wherever there are many writers there are many libels: these wretched performances, frequently produced in France, pass current in the North, in the same manner as our bad wines are sold there for Burgundy and Champagne. The former are read, and the latter are drank, often with the same want of taste; but men of real knowledge will always despise what France rejects.

You quote, Sir, some pieces which are altogether unworthy the notice of the chaplain of Charles XII. Your translator, Mr. Walmoth, hath honestly informed us, in his notes, that some of these are such wretched and obscure satires, that any gentleman would be ashamed to cite them.

The duties of an historian are many and various. Allow me to remind you of two of them, which are of some consequence; these are, never to rail, and never to be tedious. For the first I can easily excuse you, because your book will be the less read; but for the last I cannot possibly forgive you, because I have been obliged to read it. In other respects, Sir, I am with all possible regard, your most humble, and most obedient servant.

THE

The SCEPTICISM of HISTORY.

Incredulity, let us remember, according to Aristotle, is the foundation of all knowledge. This maxim ought to be attended to by all those who read history, and especially ancient history. What an infinite number of absurd facts ! what a confused heap of incoherent fables that shock the common sense of mankind ! of these do not believe a single syllable. There were kings, consuls, and decemvirs at Rome ; the Romans destroyed Carthage ; Cæsar vanquished Pompey ; all this is true. But when you are told that Castor and Pollux fought for that people ; that a vestal set a loaded ship a-float by the touch of her girdle ; that a gulph was shut up by Curtius throwing himself into it ; do not believe one word of it. You every where read of prodigies, of predictions accomplished, of miraculous cures performed in the temple of Æsculapius ; do not believe a word of them. But a hundred witnesses have signed the verbal process of these miracles engraved on tables of brass ; and the temples were filled with votaries who attested these cures. That there have been knaves and fools who have attested what they never saw ; that there have been devotees who have made presents to the priests of Æsculapius when their children have been cured of a rheumatism ; this you may believe : but with regard to the miracles of Æsculapius, do not believe a word of them.

But the Egyptian priests were all forcerers, and Herodotus admires their profound skill in witchcraft : do not believe one word of what Herodotus tells you.

With me every thing that is prodigious is incredible. But ought I to extend my incredulity to those matters, which, though within the ordinary course of human affairs, are nevertheless destitute of moral probability?

For instance, Plutarch assures us that Cæsar, completely armed, threw himself into the sea of Alexandria, holding some papers which he was unwilling to wet, in one hand, and swimming with the other.

Do not believe a word of this story which Plutarch tells you. Rather believe Cæsar himself, who does not speak a word of it in his *Commentaries*; and be assured that when a man throws himself into the sea with some papers in his hand, he must necessarily wet them*.

You will find in Quintus Curtius, that Alexander and his generals were surprised when they beheld the ebbing and flowing of the sea, a thing which to them was equally new and unexpected; do not believe a word of it.

It is probable enough that Alexander killed Clitus in a fit of drunkenness, and that he loved Ephestion as Socrates loved Alcibiades; but it is extremely improbable that the disciple of Aristotle should be ignorant of the ebbing and flowing of the sea. There were philosophers in his army; it was sufficient to have been on the Eu-

* This, we apprehend, is meer cavilling. If the *Commentaries* were written on rolls of the papyrus, one dip in the sea, at the first plunge, would do very little damage to the writing: but if the contents were written with a stylus on wax tablets, according to the custom of the Romans, the water would have no effect at all; and in that case, Cæsar must have held up his arm, that the tablets might not oppose or retard his motion in swimming.

phrates, at the mouth of which there were tides, in order to be acquainted with this phenomenon*. Alexander had travelled into Africa, the coasts of which are washed by the ocean. Is it possible that his admiral Nearchus could be ignorant of that which was known to every boy on the banks of the river Indus? Such stupid improbabilities, repeated in so many authors, have too much discredited the veracity of historians.

Father Maimbourg relates, after a hundred others, that two Jews promised the empire to Leo the Isaurian, provided [that when he should be emperor, he would destroy images. What interest, pray, had these two Jews in hindering the Christians from having paintings? how could these two wretched creatures promise the empire? is it not offering an insult to the understanding of the reader, to entertain him with such fables as these?

It must be confessed, that Mezerai, in his stiff, low, and unequal style, intermixes with the ill-digested facts which he relates, many absurdities of the same nature. At one time it is Henry V. of England, who was crowned king of France at Paris, who died of the hemorrhoids for having presumed, says he, to seat himself on the throne of our kings: at another, it is St. Michael who appeared to Joan of Arc.

* Whether or not Nearchus was acquainted with the flux and reflux of the sea, which by the bye, he could not have learned in the seas of Italy and Greece; he might have been astonished at the great extent of the shore that was left dry by the ebb of the ocean, in such a remote country as the East Indies.

I do not believe even eye-witnesses, when they report things inconsistent with common sense. The *sieur de Joinville*, or rather he who has translated his Gaulic history into ancient French, may assure me, if they will, that the emirs of Egypt, after having assassinated their sultan, offered the crown to St. Lewis, their prisoner: they might as well tell me that we had offered the crown of France to a Turk. What likelihood that the Mahometans should ever think of choosing for their sovereign a man whom they could regard in no other light than as a leader of barbarians, whom they had taken in battle, who neither understood their laws nor their language, and who was the capital enemy of their religion?

I give no more credit to the *sieur de Joinville*, when he tells me this tale, than when he informs me that the Nile overflowed at St. Remy, in the beginning of October. I will likewise venture to call in question the story of the old man of the mountain, who, upon the report of a crusade undertaken by St. Lewis, dispatched two assassins to kill him at Paris; and, upon a fresh report of his extraordinary virtue, sent off next day two couriers to countermand his first orders. This account hath too much the air of an Arabian fable.

I will boldly tell Mezerai, father Daniel, and all the historians, that I do not believe a storm of rain and hail made Edward III. return to his right senses, and procured peace to Philip de Valois. Conquerors are not so devote, nor do they make peace on account of rain*.

No-

* The greatest minds are often actuated by the most capricious motives. If we suppose that the soul of Edward III. was influenced either by the terrors of superstition,

Nothing, to be sure, is more probable than crimes; yet ought they at least to be well attested. Mezerai makes mention of more than sixty princes who have been poisoned; but this he affirms without any proof; and a common report should be given as no better than a common report.

I will not even believe Titus Livius, when he tells me that the physician of Pyrrhus offered to poison his master, provided the Romans would pay him a certain sum of money. Hardly at that time had the Romans any money at all; and

sition, or the sentiments of humanity, we shall see no reason to withhold our credit from this incident, which is recorded by all the historians. In the year 1360, Edward having invaded France, and filled that country with horror and devastation, while he was advancing at the head of his army, within two leagues of Chartres, he was overtaken by a terrible tempest, which he considered as a dreadful visitation from heaven. The peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, intermingled with deluges of rain, smote the hearts of his best warriors with dismay: but, what made the strongest impression upon Edward's own mind, was the havoc occasioned by a terrible shower of hail, which in a moment laid a thousand of his best troops, and six times that number of horses, dead upon the spot. Deeply affected by the scene, he threw himself from his horse, upon the ground, and stretching his hands towards the church at Chartres, solemnly vowed to God, that he would seriously incline his mind to peace, if it could be obtained on equitable terms. Now we should be glad to know what circumstance of this transaction is incredible, or even improbable? We would ask Mr. de Voltaire, whether he would not have had much more reason to doubt the abdication of Charles V. if the truth of the fact was to be determined by its credibility. We may once for all observe, that nothing can be more absurd than the attempt to deduce from general canons, the motives of particular actions, which depend upon such a variety of weakness, peculiarity, and caprice.

Pyrrhus had wherewithal to purchase the republic, had it been exposed to sale. The place of first physician to Pyrrhus was probably more lucrative than that of consul. I will not believe such a story as this, until I find it indisputably proved, that a first physician of one of our kings engaged to poison his patient, upon receiving a reward from a Swiss canton.

Let us likewise suspect whatever appears to be exaggerated. An innumerable army of Persians checked, at the Straits of Thermopylæ, by three hundred Spartans, does not stagger my faith; the situation of the ground renders the adventure probable. Charles XII. with eight thousand hardy veterans, defeated at Narva about eighty thousand half armed Russians; I admire, I believe the action. But when I read, that Simon de Montfort, with nine hundred soldiers*, divided into three bodies, beat a hundred thousand men, I then repeat, "That I do not believe a word of it." I am told indeed that it was a miracle; but is it so very certain that God performed a miracle in favour of Simon de Montfort?

I would call in question the battle of Charles XII. at Bender, were it not sufficiently attested by many eye-witnesses, and did not the character of that prince render such a romantic instance of heroism extremely probable. That scepticism

* Such exploits as these were often achieved by Europeans, both in the East and West Indies: nor are they at all surprising, if we consider that the few were trained up to arms and discipline, and their antagonists a rude multitude without order and regulation, unarmed, unsupplied with necessaries, unprovided with subordinate command, rash, obstinate, fanatic, and encumbered even by the greatness of their own number.

which we ought to entertain with regard to particular facts, we should likewise extend to the manners of foreign nations ; let us refuse our belief to every historian, ancient and modern, who relates things contrary to nature, and to the general character of the human mind.

All the first accounts of America talk of nothing but anthropophagi, or man-eaters ; and to read them, one would imagine that the Americans eat human flesh as commonly as we eat mutton. The truth, when fully known, amounts only to this, that a small number of Persians were eat by their conquerors, instead of being eat by the worms *.

The new Puffendorf, as incorrect as the old one, says, that in 1589, an Englishman and four women, having escaped from a shipwreck which they had suffered in a voyage to Madagascar, landed on a desert island ; and that the Englishman laboured with so much success, that in 1667, there were found on this island, which was called Pines, no less than twelve thousand handsome English protestants.

The ancients, and their numerous credulous compilers among the moderns, are perpetually telling us, that at Babylon, the best regulated city in the universe, all the maids and married women prostituted themselves once a year in the temple of Venus. I can easily believe, that in

* If we may believe the most creditable historians who have written of America and Africa, the Caribbee Indians feasted on human flesh, and were even so dainty in this particular, that the prisoners destined for the market were fattened and even castrated, to render them the more plump and delicious. All the caciques in South America, and Motezuma in particular, had dishes of human flesh served every day at their tables ; and in the kingdom of Congo in Africa, human flesh used to be sold publicly in shambles.

Babylon, as in other places, a man might have a little pleasure for his money; but I can never allow myself to think, that in a city, the best governed of any that were then in the world, all the fathers and husbands sent their daughters and wives to a market of public prostitution, and that this decent traffic * was carried on by the express orders of the legislature. We every day see published a hundred stupid stories of the same kind, concerning the customs of the Orientals; and where we have one traveller like Chardin, we have many thousands like Paul Lucas.

Such, however, is not the history of Charles XII. On the contrary, I can assure the reader, that if ever history deserved credit, this in a particular manner is intitled to that distinction. I composed it, as is well known, from the memoirs of Mr. Fabricius, of the Messrs. de Villelongue, and de Pierville, and from the accounts of several eye-witnesses. But as these witnesses did not see every thing, and sometimes saw things in a false light, I have been led, by their means, into more than one error; not indeed concerning the essential facts, but only with regard to some private anecdotes, which, however indifferent in themselves, serve as matter of triumph to the little critics.

I afterwards corrected this history by the military journal of Mr. Alderfeld, which is very accurate, and which assisted me greatly in rectifying some facts and dates.

* Is there any thing more surprising in this circumstance, than in the practice of the Romans, (another polite people,) who lent their wives to one another occasionally? is this prostitution more repugnant to the laws of decorum, than were the mysteries of the Bona Dea, or the orges of the Bacchanalians among the Greeks, who were undoubtedly the most civilized nation in the known world?

I likewise perused the history written by Mr. Norberg, chaplain and confessor of Charles XII. This is a work very ill digested, and very ill wrote; it is crowded with a variety of trifling incidents foreign to the subject; and even the grand events are rendered trifling, by the insipid manner of relating them. It is a collection of such rescripts, declarations, and manifestos, as are usually published in the name of kings, when they are at war. These neither serve to point out the causes of events, nor to give us more distinct ideas of military and political transactions; and besides, they are intolerably irksome to the reader. A writer can, at best, but consult them occasionally, in order to derive from them a little information; in the same manner as an architect makes use of rubbish in raising an edifice.

Among the public pieces, with which Norberg hath interlarded his wretched history, there are some which are even false and absurd; such as the letter of Achmet, the Turkish emperor, whom this historian calls sultan basha, by the grace of God*.

This same Norberg makes the king of Sweden say what that monarch never did, nor ever could say, in the affair of Stanislaus. He pretends that Charles XII. told the primate, by way of answer to his objections, that Stanislaus had gained a great many friends in his journey to Italy. Certain, however, it is, that Stanislaus never was in Italy, as that monarch hath himself assured me. After all, what matters it, whether a Pole, in the sixteenth century, travelled into Italy or not for his amusement? What an infinite number of useless facts ought to be retrenched from history!

* See Mr. de Voltaire's letter to Mr. Norberg.

and how do I felicitate myself in having abridged the history of Charles XII!

Norberg had neither judgment nor genius, nor a sufficient knowledge of the world; and it was for that reason, perhaps, that Charles XII. thought proper to chuse him for his confessor. Whether he made that prince a good Christian or not, I will not take upon me to determine, but most undoubtedly he has not made him a hero; and the memory of Charles XII. would be buried in oblivion, were it not transmitted to posterity by abler historians than Mr. Norberg.

It may not here be improper to inform the reader, that there appeared, some years ago, a small pamphlet, entitled, "Historical and Critical Remarks on the History of Charles XII. by Mr. de Voltaire." This little performance was composed from some anecdotes of count Poniatowski. These contained his answers to some fresh questions which I had proposed to him in his last journey to Paris. But his secretary having taken a double copy of them, they fell into the hands of a Dutch bookseller, who did not fail to publish them; and the corrector of the press gave them the title of "Critical," in order to procure them a better sale. This is one of those petty larcenies, which are sometimes practised in the bookselling trade.

La Mottraye, a domestic of Mr. Fabricius, has likewise published some remarks on this history. Among the errors and trifles with which this critique of la Mottraye is filled, there are some things that are true and useful, and of these I have taken care to avail myself in the latter editions of my history, especially in that of 1739. An historian should neglect nothing: he ought, if possible, to consult both kings and valets de chambre.

A DISCOURSE ON the HISTORY of CHARLES XII.
Prefixed to the first Edition.

FEW are the princes whose lives merit a particular history. In vain have most of them been the objects of slander, or of flattery. Small is the number of those whose memory is preserved; and that number would be still more inconsiderable, were none but the good remembered.

The princes who have the best claim to immortality are such as have benefited mankind. Thus, while France endures, the affection of Lewis XII. for his people will ever be had in grateful remembrance. The great failings of Francis I. will be excused, for the sake of the arts and sciences of which he was the father. Blessed will be the memory of Henry IV. who conquered his kingdom as much by his clemency as by his valour. And the munificence of Lewis XIV. in protecting the arts which owed their birth to Francis I. will be ever extolled.

It is for a very different reason, that the memory of bad princes is preserved; like fires, plagues, and inundations, they are remembered only for the mischief they have done.

Conquerors hold a middle rank between good kings and tyrants, but are most akin to the latter. As they have a glaring reputation, we are desirous of knowing the most minute circumstances of their lives; for such is the weakness of mankind, that they admire those who have rendered themselves remarkable for wickedness, and talk with greater pleasure of the destroyer than of the founder of an empire.

As for those princes who have neither distinguished themselves in peace nor in war; who have neither been remarkable for great virtues nor great vices; their lives furnish so little matter, either for imitation or instruction, that they are not worthy of being committed to writing. Of so many emperors of Rome, Greece, Germany, and Muscovy; of so many sultans, caliphs, popes, and kings; how few are there, whose names deserve to be recorded any where but in chronological tables, where they only serve to mark the different epochas.

There is a vulgar among princes, as well as among the rest of mankind; yet such is the itch of writing, that no sooner is a prince dead, than the world is filled with volumes under the title of memoirs and histories of his life, and anecdotes of his court. By these means books have been multiplied in such a manner, that were a man to live an hundred years, and to employ them all in reading, he would not have time to run over what hath been published relating to the history of Europe alone, for the two last centuries.

This eager and unreasonable desire of transmitting useless stories to posterity, and of fixing the attention of future ages upon common events, proceeds from a weakness extremely incident to those who have lived in courts, and have unhappily been engaged in the management of public affairs. They consider the court in which they have lived as the most magnificent in the world; their king as the greatest monarch; and the affairs in which they have been concerned as the most important that ever were transacted: and they vainly imagine, that posterity will view them in the same light.

If a prince undertakes a war, or his court is embroiled in cabals and intrigues; if he buys the friendship of one of his neighbours, or sells his own to another; if, after some victories and defeats, he at last makes peace with his enemies; his subjects are so warm and interested by the part which they themselves have acted in these scenes, that they regard their own age as the most glorious that hath existed since the creation. But what is the consequence? Why, this prince dies; new measures are adopted; the intrigues of his court, his mistresses, his ministers, his generals, his wars, and even himself, is forgotten.

Ever since the time that Christian princes have been endeavouring to cheat one another, and have alternately been making war and peace, they have signed an immense number of treaties, and fought as many battles; they have performed many glorious, and many infamous actions. Nevertheless, should all this heap of transactions be transmitted to posterity, they would most of them destroy and annihilate each other; and the memory of those only would remain which have produced great revolutions, or which, being related by able writers, are preserved from oblivion, like the pictures of obscure persons, drawn by a masterly hand.

Sensible then, as we are, of the truth of these observations, we should not have added a particular history of Charles XII. king of Sweden, to the infinite number of books with which the world is already crowded, were it not that he and his rival, Peter Alexiowitz, by far the greater man of the two, are universally allowed to be the most illustrious persons that have appeared for upwards of
twenty

twenty centuries. The trifling pleasure, however, of relating extraordinary events was not our only motive for engaging in this work; we flattered ourselves that it might be of some little use to princes, should it ever happen to fall into their hands. No king, surely, can be so incorrigible as, when he reads the history of Charles XII. not to be cured of the vain ambition of making conquests. Where is the prince that can say, I have more courage, more virtues, more resolution, greater strength of body, greater skill in war, or better troops, than Charles XII? And yet, if, with all these advantages, and after so many victories, Charles was so unfortunate, what fate may other princes expect, who, with less capacity and fewer resources, shall entertain the same ambitious views?

This history is composed from the relations of some persons of distinction, who lived several years with Charles XII. and with Peter the Great, emperor of Muscovy; and who having retired, long after the death of these princes, into a country of liberty, can have no interest in concealing the truth. Mr. Fabricius, who lived in the most intimate familiarity with Charles XII. Mr. de Bierville, the French ambassador; Mr. de Villelongue, a colonel in the Swedish service, and even Mr. Poniatowski, have all of them contributed their share in furnishing me with materials.

In this work we have not ventured to advance a single fact, without consulting eye-witnesses of undoubted veracity; a circumstance that renders this history very different from those gazettes, which have already been published under the title of lives of Charles XII. If we have omitted some little skirmishes between the Swedish and Muscovite

vite officers, the reason is, that we mean to write the history, not of these officers, but only of the king of Sweden, and even of his life none but the most important events. The history of a prince, in our opinion, is not to relate every thing he did, but only what he did worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

Here it may not be improper to remark, that many things, which were true at the time of writing this history in 1728, are not so at present. Commerce, for instance, begins to be more encouraged in Sweden. The Polish infantry are better disciplined, and are provided with regimental clothes, a convenience which they then wanted. In reading history, one ought always to remember the time in which the author wrote. To peruse the memoirs of cardinal de Retz, one would take the French for a set of enthusiasts, breathing nothing but faction, madness, and civil discord. To read the history of the happy years of Lewis XIV. one would think they were born to obey, to conquer, and to cultivate the polite arts. And, should any one consult the memoirs of the first years of Lewis XV. he will find them devoted to luxury and avarice, and too regardless of every thing else. The Spaniards at present are not the Spaniards of Charles V. and yet they may be so in a few years. The English of this age bear no more resemblance to the fanatics in Cromwell's time, than the monks and monsignori, that crowd the streets of Rome, do to the ancient Scipios. I doubt much whether the Swedish troops could be rendered, all of a sudden, so hardy and warlike as were those of Charles XII. We say of a man, that he was brave at such a time,

time ; in like manner we should say in speaking of a nation, they were of this or that character in such a year, and under such a government.

Should any prince or minister meet with disagreeable truths in this book, let them remember, that, as they act in a public station, they ought to give the public an account of their conduct. Such is the price they must pay for their greatness. The business of an historian is to record, not to flatter ; and the only way to oblige mankind to speak well of us, is to contribute all that lies in our power to their happiness and welfare.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
C H A R L E S X I I .
K I N G o f S W E D E N .

B O O K I .

T H E C O N T E N T S .

An Abridgment of the History of SWEDEN, to the Reign of CHARLES XII. The Education of that Prince, and an Account of his Enemies. Character of the Czar PETER ALEXIOWITZ. Curious Anecdotes relative to that Prince and the RUSSIAN Nation. MUSCOVY, POLAND, and DENMARK, unite against CHARLES XII.

SWEDEN and Finland make up a kingdom two hundred leagues broad, and three hundred long. This country reaches from the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, or thereabouts, to the seventieth. It lies under a very severe climate, which is hardly ever softened either by the
return

return of spring or of autumn. The winter prevails there nine months in the year. The scorching heats of the summer succeed immediately to the excessive cold of the winter. The frost begins in the month of October, without any of those imperceptible gradations, which in other countries usher in the seasons, and render the alteration more agreeable. Nature, in return, hath given to this cold climate a clear sky and a pure air. The almost constant heat of the summer produces flowers and fruits in a very short time. The long nights of the winter are tempered by the evening and morning twilights, which last for a greater or a less time, in proportion as the sun is nearer to, or farther removed from Sweden; and the light of the moon, unobscured by clouds, and encreased by the reflection of the snow that covers the ground, and frequently by the Aurora Borealis, makes it as convenient to travel in Sweden by night as by day. For want of pasture, the cattle there are smaller than in the more southern parts of Europe; but the men are of a large stature, healthful from the purity of the air, and strong from the severity of the climate; they live to a great age, unless enfeebled by the immoderate use of wines and strong liquors, of which the northern nations seem to be the more fond, the less nature hath indulged them with these commodities.

The Swedes are well made, strong, and active, and capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, want, and hunger. Born with a military genius, and high spirit, they are more brave than industrious, having long neglected, and even at present but little cultivating the arts of commerce, which alone can supply them with those productions in
which

which their country is deficient. It was chiefly from Sweden*, they say, (one part of which is still called Gothland) that those swarms of Goths issued forth, who like a deluge over-ran Europe, and wrested it from the Romans, who had usurped the dominion of that vast country, which they continued for the space of five hundred years to harass by their tyranny, and to civilize by their laws.

The northern countries were much more populous at that time than they are at present. Religion, by allowing the men a plurality of wives, gave them an opportunity of furnishing the state with more subjects. The women themselves knew no reproach but that of sterility or idleness; and being as strong and as laborious as the men, they bore children faster and for a longer time. Sweden, however, with that part of Finland which it still retains, does not contain above four millions of inhabitants. The soil is poor and barren; Schonen is the only province that bears wheat. The current coin of the kingdom does not exceed nine millions of livres. The public bank, which is the oldest in Europe, was at first established from mere necessity; the copper and iron, in which their payments were formerly made, being too heavy to be transported.

* If our author had reflected with his usual precision, he would have perceived that a cold, barren country, of the extent of Sweden, could not possibly furnish one hundredth part of those multitudes that deluged all Europe; and a little inquiry would have given him to understand, that the Goths themselves came from Scythia or Tartary, which was called the *Officina Gentium*. It is now generally allowed that the Celtæ, the Goths, the Heruli, Vandals, and Huns, were all originally Tartars.

Sweden preserved its freedom without interruption to the middle of the fourteenth century. During that long period, the form of government was more than once altered; but all these alterations were in favour of liberty. The first magistrate was invested with the name of king, a title which, in different countries, is attended with very different degrees of power. In France and Spain it signifies an absolute monarch: in Poland, Sweden, and England, it means the first man of the republic. This king could do nothing without the senate; and the senate depended upon the states-general, which were frequently assembled. The representatives of the nation, in these grand assemblies, were the gentry, the bishops, and the deputies of the towns; and in process of time, the very peasants, a class of people unjustly despised in other places, and subject to slavery in almost all the northern countries, were admitted to a share in the administration.

About the year 1492, this nation, so jealous of its liberty, and which still piques itself on having conquered Rome about thirteen hundred years ago, was subjected to the yoke by a woman, and by a people less powerful than the Swedes.

Margaret of Valdemar, the Semiramis of the North, and queen of Denmark and Norway, subdued Sweden by force and stratagem, and united these three extensive kingdoms into one mighty monarchy. After her death, Sweden was rent by civil wars; it alternately threw off and submitted to the Danish yoke; was sometimes governed by kings, and sometimes by administrators. About the year 1520, this unhappy kingdom was horribly harrassed by two tyrants: the one was Christian II. king of Denmark, a monster
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whose character was entirely composed of vices, without the least ingredient of virtue : the other an archbishop of Upsal, and primate of the kingdom, as barbarous as the former. These two, by mutual agreement, caused the consuls and the magistrates of Stockholm, together with ninety-four senators, to be seized in one day, and to be executed by the hand of the common hangman, under the frivolous pretence that they were excommunicated by the pope, for having dared to defend the rights of the state against the encroachments of the archbishop.

While these two men, unanimous in their oppressive measures, and disagreeing only about the division of the spoil, domineered over Sweden with all the tyranny of the most absolute despotism, and all the cruelty of the most implacable revenge, a new and unexpected event gave a sudden turn to the state of affairs in the North.

Gustavus Vasa, a young man, sprung from the ancient kings of Sweden, arose from the forests of Dalecarlia, where he had long lain concealed, and came to deliver his country from bondage. He was one of those great souls whom nature so seldom produces, and who are born with all the qualifications necessary to form the accomplished monarch. His handsome and stately person, and his noble and majestic air, gained him followers at first sight. His eloquence, recommended by an engaging manner, was the more persuasive, the less it was artful. His enterprising genius formed those projects which, though to the vulgar they may appear rash, are considered only as bold in the eyes of great men, and which his courage and perseverance enabled him to accomplish. Brave with circumspection, and mild and gentle in a
fierce

fierce and cruel age, he was as virtuous as it is possible for the leader of a party to be.

Gustavus Vasa had been the hostage of Christian, and had been detained a prisoner contrary to the law of nations. Having found means to escape from prison, he had dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and in that disguise had wandered about in the mountains and woods of Dalecarlia, where he was reduced to the necessity of working in the copper-mines, at once to procure a livelihood, and to conceal himself from his enemies. Buried, as he was, in these subterraneous caverns, he had the boldness to form the design of dethroning the tyrant. With this view he discovered himself to the peasants, who regarded him as one of those superior beings to whom the common herd of mankind are naturally inclined to submit. These savage boors he soon improved into hardy and warlike foldiers. He attacked Christian and the archbishop, beat them in several encounters, banished them both from Sweden, and, at last, was justly chosen by the states king of that country, of which he had been the deliverer.

Hardly was he established on the throne, when he undertook an enterprize still more difficult than his conquests. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who having engrossed into their own hands almost all the riches of Sweden, employed their ill-got wealth in oppressing the subjects, and in making war upon the king. This power was the more formidable, as, in the opinion of the ignorant populace, it was held to be sacred. Gustavus punished the catholic religion for the crimes of its ministers; and, in less than two years, introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, rather by the arts of policy, than by the influence
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of authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as himself was wont to say, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned a happy and an absolute monarch to the age of seventy, and then died full of glory, leaving his family and religion in quiet possession of the throne.

One of his descendants was that Gustavus Adolphus, who is commonly called the great Gustavus. He conquered Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, Verden, Wismar, and Pomerania, not to mention above an hundred places in Germany, which, after his death, were yielded up by the Swedes. He shook the throne of Ferdinand II. and protected the Lutherans in Germany, an attempt in which he was secretly assisted by the pope himself, who dreaded the power of the emperor much more than the prevalence of heresy. He it was that by his victories effectually contributed to humble the house of Austria; though the glory of that enterprize is usually ascribed to cardinal de Richelieu, who well knew how to procure himself the reputation of those great actions, which Gustavus was contented with simply performing. He was just upon the point of extending the war beyond the Danube, and perhaps of dethroning the emperor, when he was killed, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, at the battle of Lutzen, which he gained over Walstein, carrying along with him to his grave the name of Great, the lamentations of the North, and the esteem of his enemies.

His daughter Christina, a lady of an extraordinary genius, was much sonder of conversing with men of learning, than of reigning over a people, whose knowledge was entirely confined to the art of war. She became as famous for quitting the throne as her ancestors had been
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for obtaining or securing it. The protestants have loaded her memory with many injurious aspersions, as if it were impossible for a person to be possessed of great virtues without adhering to Luther; and the papists have piqued themselves too much on the conversion of a woman who had nothing to recommend her but her taste for philosophy. She retired to Rome, where she passed the rest of her days in the midst of those arts of which she was so passionately fond, and for the sake of which she had renounced a crown at twenty-seven years of age.

Before her abdication, she prevailed upon the states of Sweden to elect her cousin, Charles Gustavus X. son to the count palatine, and duke of Deux-Ponts, as her successor. This prince added new conquests to those of Gustavus Adolphus. He presently carried his arms into Poland, where he gained the famous battle of Warsaw, which lasted for three days. He waged a long and a successful war with the Danes; besieged them in their capital; re-united Schonen to Sweden; and confirmed the duke of Holstein in the possession of Sleswick, at least for a time. At last, having met with a reverse of fortune, and concluded a peace with his enemies, he turned his ambition against his subjects, and formed the design of establishing a despotic government in Sweden. But, like the great Gustavus, he died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, without being able to finish his project, the full accomplishment of which was reserved for his son, Charles XI.

Charles XI. was a warrior, like all his ancestors, and more despotic than any of them. He abolished the authority of the senate, which was declared to be the senate of the king, and

not of the kingdom. He was prudent, vigilant, indefatigable; qualities that must certainly have secured him the love of his subjects, had not his despotic measures been more apt to excite their fear than to gain their affections.

In 1680 he married Ulrica Eleonora, daughter to Frederic III. king of Denmark, a princess eminent for her virtue, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband was pleased to repose in her. Of this marriage, on the 27th of June 1682, was born king Charles XII. the most extraordinary man, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world. In him were united all the great qualities of his ancestors; nor had he any other fault or failing, but that he possessed all these virtues in too high a degree. This is the prince whose history we now purpose to write, and concerning whose person and actions we shall relate nothing but what is vouched by the best authority.

The first book which was put into his hands was Puffendorf's introduction to the history of Europe, that from thence he might acquire an early knowledge of his own dominions, and of those of his neighbours. He next learned the German language, which he continued to speak for the future, with the same fluency as his mother-tongue. At seven years of age he could manage a horse; and the violent exercises in which he delighted, and which discovered his martial disposition, soon procured him a vigorous constitution, capable to support the incredible fatigues which his natural inclination always prompted him to undergo.

Though gentle in his infancy, he betrayed an inflexible obstinacy. The only way to influence him was to awaken his sense of honour; by mention-

ing the word glory, you might have obtained any thing from him. He had a great aversion to the Latin tongue; but as soon as he heard that the kings of Poland and Denmark understood it, he learned it with great expedition, and retained so much of it, as to be able to speak it all the rest of his life. The same means were employed to engage him to learn the French; but he could never be persuaded to make use of that tongue, not even with the French ambassadors themselves, who understood no other.

As soon as he had acquired a tolerable knowledge of the Latin, his teacher made him translate Quintus Curtius; a book for which he conceived a great liking, rather on account of the subject than the style. The person who explained this author to him having asked him what he thought of Alexander: "I think (said the prince) I could wish to be like him." "But (resumed the preceptor) he only lived two and thirty years." "Ah! (replied he) and is not that enough, when one has conquered kingdoms?" The courtiers did not fail to carry these answers to the king his father, who would often cry out; "This child will excel me, and will even go beyond the great Gustavus." One day he happened to be diverting himself in the royal apartment, in viewing two plans; the one of a town in Hungary, which the Turks had taken from the emperor; the other of Riga the capital of Livonia, a province conquered by the Swedes about a century before. Under the plan of the town in Hungary were written these words, taken from the book of Job: "The Lord hath given it to me, and the Lord hath taken it from me; blessed be the name of the Lord." The young prince having read this inscription,
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immediately took a pencil, and wrote under the plan of Riga; "The Lord hath given it to me, and the devil shall not take it from me *." Thus, in the most indifferent actions of his childhood, his unconquerable spirit would frequently discover some traces of those heroic qualities which characterize great souls, and which plainly indicated what sort of a man he would one day prove.

He was but eleven years of age when he lost his mother, who expired on the fifth of August 1693. The disease of which she died was supposed to be owing to the bad usage she had received from her husband, and to her own endeavours to conceal her vexation. Charles XI. had, by means of a certain court of justice, which was called the Chamber of Liquidations, and erected by his sole authority, deprived a great number of his subjects of their wealth. Crowds of citizens ruined by this chamber, nobility, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, filled the streets of Stockholm, and daily repaired to the gate of the palace to pour forth their unavailing complaints. The queen succoured these unhappy people as much as lay in her power; she gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths; and when she had no more to give them, with tears in her eyes she threw herself at her husband's feet, beseeching him to have pity on his wretched subjects. The king gravely answered her, "Madam, we took you to bring us children, not to give us advice." And from that time he treated

* This anecdote I give from the information of two French ambassadors, who resided at the court of Sweden.

her with a severity that is said to have shortened her days.

He died four years after her, on the fifteenth of April 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, at a time when the empire, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and France on the other, had referred the decision of their quarrels to his arbitration, and when he had already concerted the terms of accommodation between these different powers.

He left to his son, who was then fifteen years of age, a throne well established and respected abroad; subjects poor, but valiant and loyal; together with a treasury in good order, and managed by able ministers.

Charles XII. at his accession to the throne, found himself the absolute and undisturbed master, not only of Sweden and Finland, but also of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Wismar, Vibourg, the islands of Rugen and Oesel, and the finest part of Pomerania, together with the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, all of them the conquests of his ancestors, secured to the crown by long possession, and by the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, and supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryſwick, which was begun under the auspices of the father, being fully concluded under those of the son, he found himself the mediator of Europe, from the first moment of his reign.

The laws of Sweden fix the majority of their kings at the age of fifteen; but Charles XI. who was entirely absolute, put off, by his last-will, the majority of his son to the age of eighteen. In this he favoured the ambitious views of his mother Eduiga-Eleonora of Holstein, dowager of Charles

Charles X. who was appointed by the king her son, guardian to the young king her grandson, and regent of the kingdom, in conjunction with a council of five persons.

The regent had had a share in the management of public affairs during the reign of her son. She was now advanced in years; but her ambition, which was greater than her abilities, prompted her to entertain the pleasing hopes of possessing authority for a long time, under the king her grandson. She kept him at as great a distance as possible from all concern with the affairs of state. The young prince passed his time either in hunting or in reviewing his troops, and would even sometimes exercise with them; which amusement seemed only to be the natural effect of his youthful vivacity. He never betrayed any dissatisfaction sufficient to alarm the regent, who flattered herself that the dissipation of mind occasioned by these diversions would render him incapable of application, and leave her in possession of the supreme power for a considerable time.

One day in the month of November, and in the same year in which his father died, when he had been taking a review of several regiments, and Piper the counsellor was standing by him, he seemed to be absorbed in a profound reverie. "May I take the liberty (said Piper to him) of asking your majesty what you are thinking of so seriously?" "I am thinking (replied the prince) that I am capable of commanding these brave fellows; and I don't chuse that either they or I should receive orders from a woman." Piper immediately seized this opportunity of making his fortune; but conscious that his own interest was not sufficient for the execution of such a danger-

ous enterprize, as the removal of the queen from the regency, and the hastening of the king's majority, he proposed the affair to count Axel Sparre, a man of a daring spirit, and fond of popularity. Him he cajoled with the hopes of being the king's confidant. The count readily swallowed the bait, and undertook the management of the whole matter, while all his labours only tended to promote the interest of Piper. The counsellors of the regency were soon drawn into the scheme, and forthwith proceeded to the execution of it, in order to recommend themselves the more effectually to the king.

They went in a body to propose it to the queen, who little expected such a declaration. The counsellors of the regency laid the matter before the states-general, who were then assembled, and who were all unanimous in approving the proposal. The point was carried with a rapidity that nothing could withstand; so that Charles XII. had only to signify his desire of reigning, and, in three days, the states bestowed the government upon him. The queen's power and credit fell in an instant. She afterwards led a private life, which was more suitable to her age, though less agreeable to her humour. The king was crowned on the twenty-fourth of December following. He made his entry into Stockholm on a sorrel horse shod with silver, having a scepter in his hand and a crown upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a whole people, passionately fond of every novelty, and always conceiving great hopes from the reign of a young prince.

The ceremony of the consecration and coronation belongs to the archbishop of Upsal. This is almost the only privilege that remains to him of
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the great number that were claimed by his predecessors. After having anointed the prince, according to custom, he held the crown in his hand, in order to put it upon his head: Charles snatched it from him and crowned himself, regarding the poor prelate all the while with a stern look. The people, who are always dazzled by every thing that has an air of grandeur and magnificence, applauded this action of the king. Even those who had groaned most severely under the tyranny of the father, were foolish enough to commend the son for this instance of arrogance, which was a sure pledge of their future slavery.

As soon as Charles was master of the kingdom, he made Piper his chief confidant, entrusting him at the same time with the management of public affairs, and giving him all the power of a prime minister, without the odium of the name. A few days after he created him a count, which is a dignity of great eminence in Sweden, and not an empty title that may be assumed without any manner of importance, as with us in France.

The beginning of the king's reign gave no very favourable idea of his character. It was imagined that he had been more ambitious of obtaining the supreme power, than worthy of possessing it. True it is, he had no dangerous passion; but his conduct discovered nothing but the sallies of youth, and the freaks of obstinacy. He seemed to be equally proud and lazy. The ambassadors who resided at his court, took him even for a person of mean capacity, and represented him as such to their respective masters*. The Swedes entertained the same opinion of him: nobody knew

* This is confirmed by original letters.

his real character : he did not even know it himself, until the storm that suddenly arose in the North gave him an opportunity of displaying his great talents, which had hitherto lain concealed.

Three powerful princes, taking the advantage of his youth, conspired his ruin almost at the same time. The first was his own cousin, Frederick IV. king of Denmark : the second Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland : Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was the third, and the most dangerous. It will be necessary to unfold the origin of these wars, which produced such great events : and to begin with Denmark.

Of the two sisters of Charles XII. the eldest was married to the duke of Holstein, a young prince of an undaunted spirit and of a gentle disposition. The duke, oppressed by the king of Denmark, repaired to Stockholm with his spouse, and throwing himself into the arms of the king, earnestly implored his assistance. This he hoped to obtain, as Charles was not only his brother-in-law, but was likewise the sovereign of a people who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Danes.

The ancient house of Holstein, sunk into that of Oldenburg, had been advanced by election to the throne of Denmark in 1449. All the kingdoms of the North were at that time elective ; but the kingdom of Denmark soon after became hereditary. One of its kings, called Christiern III. had such a tender affection for his brother Adolphus, or, at least, such a regard for his interest, as is seldom to be met with among princes. He was desirous of investing him with sovereign power, and yet he could not dismember his own dominions. He therefore divided with him the dutchies of Holstein-Gottorp and Sleswick, by an odd kind

of agreement, the substance of which was, that the descendants of Adolphus should ever after govern Holstein in conjunction with the kings of Denmark; that those two duchies should belong to both in common; and that the king of Denmark should be able to do nothing in Holstein without the duke, nor the duke without the king. So strange an union, of which, however, we have had within these few years a similar instance in the same family, was, for near the space of eighty years, the source of perpetual disputes between the crown of Denmark and the house of Holstein-Gottorp; the kings always endeavouring to oppress the dukes, and the dukes to render themselves independent. A struggle of this nature had cost the last duke his liberty and sovereignty, both which, however, he recovered at the conferences of Altona in 1689, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who became guarantess for the execution of the treaty. But as a treaty between princes is frequently no more than a giving way to necessity, till such time as the stronger shall be able to crush the weaker, the contest was revived with greater virulence than ever between the new king of Denmark and the young duke. And while the duke was at Stockholm, the Danes had already committed some acts of hostility in the country of Holstein, and had entered into a secret agreement with the king of Poland, to attack the king of Sweden himself.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence nor negotiations of the abbé de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the throne, had been able to prevent from being chosen king of Poland about two years before, was a prince

still less remarkable for his incredible strength of body than for his bravery and gallantry of soul. His court, next to that of Lewis XIV. was the most splendid of any in Europe. Never was prince more generous or munificent, or bestowed his favours with a better grace. He had purchased the votes of one half of the Polish nobility, and overawed the other by the approach of a Saxon army. As he thought he should have need of his troops in order to establish himself the more firmly on the throne, he wanted a pretext for retaining them in Poland; and he therefore resolved to employ them in attacking the king of Sweden, which he did on the following occasion.

Livonia, the most beautiful and the most fruitful province of the North, belonged formerly to the knights of the Teutonic order. The Russians, the Poles, and the Swedes, had severally disputed the possession of it. The Swedes had carried it from all the rest about an hundred years ago; and it had been formally ceded to them by the peace of Oliva.

The late king Charles XI. amidst his severities to his subjects in general, had not spared the Livonians. He had stripped them of their privileges, and of part of their estates. Patkul, who unhappily hath since become famous for his tragical death, was deputed by the nobility of Livonia to carry to the throne the complaints of the province. He addressed his master in a speech, respectful indeed, but bold, and full of that manly eloquence, which calamity, when joined to courage, never fail to inspire. But kings too frequently consider these public addresses as no more than vain ceremonies, which it is customary to suffer, without paying them any regard. Charles XI.
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however, who could play the hypocrite extremely well, when he was not hurried away by the violence of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder: "You have spoke for your country, (said he) like a brave man, and I esteem you for it; go on." Notwithstanding, in a few days after, he caused him to be declared guilty of high treason, and as such to be condemned to death. Patkul, who had hid himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland, where he was afterwards admitted into the presence of king Augustus. Charles XI. was now dead; but Patkul's sentence was still in force, and his indignation still unabated. He represented to his Polish majesty the facility of conquering Livonia, the people of which were mad with despair, and ready to throw off the Swedish yoke; while the king was a child, and unable to make any resistance. These representations were well received by a prince, who already flattered himself with the agreeable hopes of this important conquest. Augustus had engaged at his coronation to exert his most vigorous efforts, in order to recover the provinces which Poland had lost; and he imagined, that, by making an irruption into Livonia, he should at once please the people and establish his own power; in both which particulars, however promising of success, he at last found himself fatally disappointed. Every thing was soon got ready for a sudden invasion, which he resolved to make without having recourse to the vain formalities of declarations of war and manifestoes. The storm thickened at the same time on the side of Muscovy. The monarch who governed that kingdom merits the attention of posterity.

Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Russia, had already made himself formidable by the battle he had gained over the Turks in 1697, and by the reduction of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. But it was by actions still more glorious than even his victories, that he aspired to the name of Great. Muscovy, or Russia, comprehends the northern parts of Asia and of Europe, and from the frontiers of China extends, for the space of fifteen hundred leagues, to the borders of Poland and Sweden. This immense country, however, was hardly known to Europe, before the time of the czar Peter. The Muscovites were less civilized than the Mexicans, when discovered by Cortez: born the slaves of masters as barbarous as themselves, they were sunk into a state of the most profound ignorance, into a total want of all the arts and sciences, and into such an insensibility of that want, as effectually suppressed every exertion of industry. An ancient law, which they held to be sacred, forbade them, under pain of death, to leave their native country without permission of their patriarch. This law, made with a view to preclude them from all opportunities of becoming sensible of their slavery, was very acceptable to a people, who, in the depth of their misery and ignorance, disdained all commerce with foreign nations.

The æra of the Muscovites began at the creation of the world: they reckoned up 7207 years to the beginning of the last century, without being able to assign any reason for this computation. The first day of their year answered to the thirteenth of our month of November. The reason they alledge for this regulation is, that it is probable

bable that God created the world in autumn, the season when the fruits of the earth are in their full maturity. Thus, the only appearances of knowledge which they had were founded upon gross errors; not one of them ever dreamed that the autumn of Muscovy might possibly be the spring of another country, situated in an opposite climate. Nor is it long since the people at Moscow were going to burn the secretary of a Persian ambassador, who had foretold an eclipse of the sun. They did not so much as know the use of figures; but in all their computations made use of little beads strung upon brass-wires. They had no other manner of reckoning in their computing-houses, not even in the treasury of the czar.

Their religion was, and still is, that of the Greek church, intermixed with many superstitious rites, to which they are the more strongly attached, in proportion as they are the more ridiculous, and their burden the more intolerable. Few Muscovites would venture to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the form of a dove. They regularly observed four lents in the year; and during those times of abstinence, they never presumed to eat either eggs or milk. God and St. Nicholas were the objects of their worship, and next to them the czar and the patriarch. The authority of the last was as unbounded as the people's ignorance. He pronounced sentences of death, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, without any possibility of an appeal from his tribunal. Twice a-year he made a solemn procession on horse-back, attended by all his clergy in order. The czar on foot held the bridle of his horse, and the people prostrated themselves before him in the streets, as the Tartars do before their grand

grand lama. Confession was in use among them; but it was only in cases of the greatest crimes. In these absolution was necessary, but not repentance. They thought themselves pure in the sight of God, as soon as they received the benediction of their papas. Thus they passed, without remorse, from confession to theft and murder; and what among other Christians is a restraint from vice, with them was an encouragement to wickedness. On a fast-day, they would not even venture to drink milk; but on a festival, masters of families, priests, married women and maids, would make no scruple to intoxicate themselves with brandy. However, there were religious disputes among them as well as in other countries; but their greatest controversy was, whether laymen should make the sign of the cross with two fingers or with three. One Jacob Nursoff, in the preceding reign, had raised a sedition in Astracan about this very quarrel. There were even some fanatics among them, as there are in those civilized nations where every one is a theologian; and Peter, who always carried justice to the extreme of cruelty, caused some of these wretched creatures, who were called Vosko-jesuits, to be committed to the flames.

The czar, in his vast dominions, had many other subjects who were not Christians. The Tartars, inhabiting the western coasts of the Caspian Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were Mahometans; the Siberians, the Ostiacks, and the Samoides, who lie towards the Frozen Sea, were savages, some of whom were idolaters, and others had not the least knowledge of a God; and yet the Swedes who were sent prisoners among them, were better pleased

pleased with their manners than with those of the ancient Muscovites.

Peter Alexiowitz had received an education that tended still more to encrease the barbarity of this part of the world. His natural disposition led him to caress strangers, before he knew what advantages he might derive from their acquaintance. Le Fort, as hath been already observed, was the first instrument he employed to change the face of affairs in Muscovy. His mighty genius, which a barbarous education had hitherto checked but not destroyed, broke forth all of a sudden. He resolved to be a man, to command men, and to create a new nation. Many princes before him had renounced crowns, wearied out with the intolerable load of public affairs; but no man had ever divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: this was a stretch of heroism which was reserved for Peter the Great alone.

He left Muscovy in 1698, having reigned as yet but two years, and went to Holland, disguised under a common name, as if he had been a menial servant of that same Mr. le Fort, whom he sent in quality of ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general. As soon as he arrived at Amsterdam, he enrolled his name among the shipwrights of the admiralty of the Indies, and wrought in the yard like the other mechanics. At his leisure hours he learned such parts of the mathematics as are useful to a prince; fortification, navigation, and the art of drawing plans. He went into the workmen's shops, and examined all their manufactures: nothing could escape his observation. From thence he passed over into England, where having perfected himself in the
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art of ship-building, he returned to Holland, carefully observing every thing that might turn to the advantage of his country. At last, after two years of travel and labour, to which no man but himself would have willingly submitted, he again made his appearance in Muscovy, with all the arts of Europe in his train. Artists of every kind followed him in abundance. Then were seen, for the first time, large Russian ships in the Baltick, and on the Black Sea and the Ocean. Stately buildings, of a regular architecture, were raised among the Russian huts. He founded colleges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries. The cities were brought under a regular police. The cloaths and customs of the people were gradually changed, though not without some difficulty; and the Muscovites learned by degrees the true nature of a social state. Even their superstitious rites were abolished; the dignity of the patriarch was suppressed; and the czar declared himself the head of the church. This last enterprize, which would have cost a prince less absolute than Peter both his throne and his life, succeeded almost without opposition, and insured to him the success of all his other innovations.

After having humbled an ignorant and a barbarous clergy, he ventured to make a trial of instructing them, though by that means he ran the risque of rendering them formidable; but he was too conscious of his own power to entertain any apprehension from that quarter. He caused philosophy and theology to be taught in the few monasteries that still remained. True it is, this theology still favours of that barbarous period in which Peter civilized his people. A gentleman of undoubted veracity assured me, that he was present

present at a public disputation, where the point of controversy was, whether the practice of smoking tobacco was a sin? The respondent alledged, that it was lawful to get drunk with brandy, but not to smoke, because the holy scripture saith, "That which proceedeth out of the mouth defileth a man, and that which entereth into it doth not defile him."

The monks were not satisfied with this reformation. Hardly had the czar erected his printing-houses, when these pious drones made use of them to publish declamations against their sovereign. One of them affirmed in print that Peter was Antichrist; and his arguments were, that he deprived the living of their beards, and allowed the dead to be dissected in his academy. But another monk, who had a mind to make his fortune, refuted this book, and proved that Peter could not be Antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name. The libeller was broke upon the wheel, and the author of the refutation was made bishop of Rezan.

The reformer of Muscovy enacted a very wholesome law, the want of which reflects disgrace upon many civilized nations. By this law, no man engaged in the service of the state, no citizen established in trade, and especially no minor, was allowed to retire into a convent.

Peter knew of what infinite consequence it was to prevent useful subjects from consecrating themselves to idleness, and to hinder young people from disposing of their liberty, at an age when they are incapable of disposing of the least part of their patrimony. This law, however, so plainly calculated for the general interest of mankind, is daily
cluded

cluded by the industry of the monks; as if they, forsooth, were gainers by peopling their convents at the expence of their country.

The czar not only subjected the church to the state, after the example of the Turkish emperors, but, what was a more masterly stroke of policy, he dissolved a militia of much the same nature with that of the janissaries: and what the sultans had attempted in vain, he accomplished in a short time: he disbanded the Russian janissaries, who were called Strelits, and who kept the czars in subjection. These troops, more formidable to their masters than to their neighbours, consisted of about thirty thousand foot, one half of which remained at Moscow, while the other was stationed upon the frontiers. The pay of a strelits was no more than four roubles a-year; but this deficiency was amply compensated by privileges and extortions. Peter at first formed a company of foreigners, among whom he enrolled his own name, and did not think it below him to begin the service in the character of a drummer, and to perform the duties of that mean office; so much did the nation stand in need of examples! By degrees he became an officer. He gradually raised new regiments; and, at last, finding himself master of a well-disciplined army, he broke the strelits, who durst not disobey.

The cavalry were nearly the same with that of Poland, or France, when this last kingdom was no more than an assemblage of fiefs. The Russian gentlemen mounted horse at their own expence, and fought without discipline, and sometimes without any other arms than a sabre or a bow, incapable of obeying, and consequently of conquering.

Peter

Peter the Great taught them to obey, both by the example he set them, and by the punishments he inflicted; for he served in the quality of a soldier and subaltern officer, and as czar he severely punished the boyards, that is, the gentlemen, who pretended that it was the privilege of their order not to serve but by their own consent. He established a regular body to serve the artillery, and took five hundred bells from the churches to found cannon. In the year 1714, he had thirteen thousand brass cannon. He likewise formed some troops of dragoons, a kind of militia very suitable to the genius of the Muscovites, and to the size of their horses, which are small. In 1738 the Russians had thirty regiments of dragoons, consisting of a thousand men each, and well accoutred.

He likewise established the Russian hussars; and had even a school of engineers, in a country where, before his time, no one understood the elements of geometry.

He was himself a good engineer; but his chief excellence lay in his knowledge of naval affairs: he was an able sea-captain, a skilful pilot, a good sailor, an expert ship-wright, and his knowledge of these arts was the more meritorious, as he was born with a great dread of the water. In his youth he could not pass over a bridge without trembling: on all these occasions he caused the wooden windows of his coach to be shut; but of this constitutional weakness he soon got the better by his courage and resolution.

He caused a beautiful harbour to be built at the mouth of the Tanais, near Asoph, in which he proposed to keep a number of galleys; and some time after, thinking that these vessels, so long, light,

light, and flat, would probably succeed in the Baltick, he had upwards of three hundred of them built at his favourite city of Petersburg. He shewed his subjects the method of building ships with fir only, and taught them the art of navigation. He had even learned surgery, and, in a case of necessity, has been known to tap a dropsical person. He was well versed in mechanics, and instructed the artists.

Indeed the revenue of the czar, when compared to the immense extent of his dominions, was very inconsiderable. It never amounted to four and twenty millions of our money, reckoning the mark at about fifty livres, as we do to-day, though perhaps we may do otherwise to-morrow. But a man may always be accounted rich, who has it in his power to accomplish great undertakings. It is not the scarcity of money that weakens a state; it is the want of hands, and of men of abilities.

Russia, notwithstanding the women are fruitful and the men robust, is far from being populous. Peter himself, in civilizing his dominions, unhappily contributed to their depopulation. Frequent levies in his wars, which were long unsuccessful; nations transported from the coasts of the Caspian Sea to those of the Baltick, destroyed by fatigue, or cut off by diseases; three fourths of the Muscovite children dying of the small-pox, which is more dangerous in those climates than in any other; in a word, the melancholy effects of a government savage for a long time, and even barbarous in its policy; to all these causes it is owing, that in this country, comprehending so great a part of the continent, there are still vast deserts. Russia, at present, is supposed to contain five hundred thousand families of gentlemen; two hundred

six hundred thousand lawyers; something more than five millions of citizens and peasants, who pay a sort of tax; six hundred thousand men who live in the provinces conquered from the Swedes; the Cossacks in the Ukraine, and the Tartars that are subject to Muscovy, do not exceed two millions; in fine, it appears that in this immense country, there are not above fourteen millions of men, that is, a little more than two thirds of the inhabitants of France.

While Peter was employed in changing the laws, the manners, the militia, and the very face of his country, he likewise resolved to encrease his greatness by encouraging commerce, which at once constitutes the riches of a particular state, and contributes to the interest of the world in general. He resolved to make Russia the center of trade between Asia and Europe. He determined to join the Duna, the Volga, and the Tanais, by canals, of which he drew the plans; and thus to open a new passage from the Baltick to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean.

The port of Archangel, frozen up for nine months in the year, and which could not be entered without making a long and dangerous circuit, he did not think sufficiently commodious. From the year 1700, he had formed a design of building a port upon the Baltic sea, that should become the magazine of the North, and of raising a city that should prove the capital of his empire.

He was already attempting to find out a north-east passage to China; and the manufactures of Pekin and Paris were designed to embellish his new city.

A road 754 versts long, running through marshes that were to be drained, led from Moscow to his new city. Most of these projects were executed by his own hands; and the two empresses, who have successively followed him, have even improved upon his schemes, when they were practicable, and abandoned none but such as it was impossible to accomplish.

He was always travelling up and down his dominions, as much as his wars would allow him; but he travelled like a legislator and natural philosopher, examining nature every where, endeavouring to correct or perfect her; sounding with his own hands the depth of seas and rivers; repairing sluices, visiting docks, causing mines to be searched for, assaying metals, ordering accurate plans to be drawn, in the execution of which he himself assisted.

He built upon a very wild and uncultivated spot, the imperial city of Petersburg, which now contains sixty thousand houses, and is the residence of a splendid court, where all the refined pleasures are known and enjoyed. He built the harbour of Cronstad, on the Neva, and St. Croix, on the frontiers of Persia; erected forts on the Ukraine, and in Siberia; established offices of admiralty at Archangel, Petersburg, Astracan, and Azoph; founded arsenals, and built and endowed hospitals. All his own houses were mean, and executed in a bad taste; but he spared no expences in rendering the public buildings grand and magnificent.

The sciences, which in other countries have been the slow product of so many ages, were, by his care and industry, imported into Russia in full perfection. He established an academy on the

the plan of the famous societies of Paris and London. The Delilles, the Bulfingers, the Hermannus's, the Bernouilles, and the celebrated Wolf, a man who excelled in every branch of philosophy, were all invited and brought to Peterburg at a great expence. This academy still subsists; and the Muscovites, at length, have philosophers of their own nation.

He obliged the young nobility to travel for improvement, and to bring back into Russia the politeness of foreign countries; and I have seen some young Russians who were men of genius and of knowledge. Thus it was that a single man changed the face of the greatest empire in the universe. It is however a shocking reflection, that this reformer of mankind should have been deficient in that first of all virtues, the virtue of humanity. Brutality in his pleasures, ferocity in his manners, and cruelty in his punishments, sullied the lustre of so many virtues. He civilized his subjects, and yet himself remained a barbarian. He would sometimes, with his own hands, execute sentences of death upon the unhappy criminals; and, in the midst of a revel, would shew his dexterity in cutting off heads. There are princes in Africa, who, with their own hands, shed the blood of their subjects; but these kings are always detested as barbarians. The death of a son, whom he ought to have corrected, or at most disinherited, would render the memory of Peter the object of universal hatred, were it not that the great and many blessings he bestowed upon his subjects, were almost sufficient to excuse his cruelty to his own offspring.

Such was the czar Peter; and his great projects were little more than in embryo when he joined the kings of Poland and Denmark against a child whom they all despised. The founder of the Russian empire was ambitious of being a conqueror; and such he thought he might easily become by the prosecution of a war, which, being entered into with so much prudence, could not fail, he imagined, of proving advantageous to his subjects: the art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people.

Besides, he wanted a port on the east side of the Baltic, to facilitate the execution of all his schemes. He wanted the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia. The Swedes were in possession of it, and from them he resolved to take it by force. His predecessors had had claims upon Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia; and the present seemed a favourable opportunity for reviving these claims, which had lain buried for a hundred years, and had been cancelled by the sanction of treaties. He therefore made a league with the king of Poland, to wrest from young Charles XII. all the territories that are bounded by the gulph of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland, and Muscovy.

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C H A R L E S X I I .
K I N G o f S W E D E N .

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T H E C O N T E N T S .

A sudden and surprising Change in the Character of CHARLES XII. at eighteen Years of Age: he undertakes a War against DENMARK, POLAND, and MUSCOVY: finishes the DANISH War in six Weeks: with eight thousand SWEDES defeats eighty thousand RUSSIANS; and then penetrates into POLAND. A Description of POLAND, and its form of Government. CHARLES gains several Battles; becomes master of POLAND, where he prepares to nominate a King.

IN this manner did three powerful sovereigns menace the infancy of Charles XII. The news of these preparations struck the Swedes with consternation, and alarmed the council. All the great generals were now dead; and every thing was to be feared under the reign of a young king, who had hitherto given no very favourable impressions of his character. He hardly ever as-

sisted at the council; and when he did, it was only to sit cross-legged on the table, absent, inattentive, and seemingly regardless of every thing that passed.

The council happened to hold a deliberation in his presence concerning the dangerous situation of affairs; some of the members proposed to avert the storm by negotiations, when all on a sudden Charles rose with an air of gravity and assurance, like a man of superior consequence who has chosen his side: "Gentlemen, said he, I am resolved never to begin an unjust war, nor ever to finish a just one but by the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixed. I will attack the first that shall declare against me; and, after having conquered him, I hope I shall be able to strike terror into the rest." All the old counsellors were astonished at this declaration, and looked at one another without daring to reply. Agreeably surprised to find their king possessed of such noble sentiments, and ashamed to be less sanguine in their expectations than him, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

They were still more surprised when they saw him at once bid adieu to the most innocent amusements of youth. The moment he began to make preparations for the war, he entered on a new course of life, from which he never afterwards deviated in one single instance. Full of the idea of Alexander and Cæsar, he proposed to imitate those two conquerors in every thing but their vices. No longer did he indulge himself in magnificence, sports, and recreations; he reduced his table to the most rigid frugality. He had formerly been fond of gaiety and dress; but from

that time he was never clad otherwise than a common soldier. He was supposed to have entertained a passion for a lady of his court: whether there was any foundation for this supposition does not appear; certain it is, he ever after renounced all commerce with women, not only for fear of being governed by them, but likewise to set an example of continence to his soldiers, whom he resolved to confine within the strictest discipline; perhaps too from the vanity of being thought the only king that could conquer a passion so difficult to be overcome. He likewise determined to abstain from wine during the rest of his life. Some people have told me, that his only reason for taking this resolution was to subdue his vicious inclinations in every thing, and to add one virtue more to his former stock; but the greater number have assured me, that it was to punish himself for a riot he had committed, and an affront he had offered to a lady at table, even in presence of the queen-mother. If that be true, this condemnation of his own conduct, and this abstinence which he imposed upon himself during the remainder of his life, is a species of heroism no less worthy of admiration*.

He began by assuring the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law, of a speedy assistance. Eight thousand men were immediately sent into Pomerania, a province bordering upon Holstein, in order to enable the duke to make head against the Danes. The duke indeed had need of them. His dominions were already laid waste, the castle of Gottorp taken, and the city of Tonningen

* If we may judge from the whole tenour of his life and character, he had in fact no tenderness in his nature.

pressed by an obstinate siege, to which the king of Denmark was come in person, in order to enjoy a conquest, which he held to be certain. This spark began to throw the empire into a flame. On the one side the Saxon troops of the king of Poland, those of Brandenburg, Wolfenbüttele, and Hesse Cassel, advanced to join the Danes. On the other, the king of Sweden's eight thousand men, the troops of Hanover and Zell, and three Dutch regiments, came to the assistance of the duke. While the little country of Holstein was thus the theatre of war, two squadrons, the one from England, and the other from Holland, appeared in the Baltic. These two states were guaranties of the treaty of Altena, which the Danes had broke, and were eager to assist the duke of Holstein, because it was for the interest of their trade to check the growing power of the king of Denmark. They knew, that should he once become master of the Sound, he would impose the most rigorous laws upon the commercial nations, as soon as he should be able to do it with impunity. This consideration has long induced the English and the Dutch to maintain, as much as they can, a balance of power between the princes of the North. They joined the young king of Sweden, who seemed to be in danger of being crushed by such a powerful combination of enemies, and assisted him for the very same reason that the others attacked him; namely, because they thought him incapable of defending himself.

He was taking the diversion of boar-hunting when he received the news of the Saxons having invaded Livonia. This pastime he enjoyed in a manner equally new and dangerous. No other weapons

weapons were used but sharp-pointed sticks, with which the hunters defended themselves behind a cord stretched between two trees. A boar of a huge size came straight against the king, who, after a long struggle, by the help of the cord and stick, levelled him with the ground. It must be acknowledged, that in reading of such adventures as these, in considering the surprising strength of king Augustus, and reviewing the travels of the czar, we are almost tempted to think that we live in the times of Hercules and Theseus.

Charles set out for his first campaign on the eighth day of May, new stile, in the year 1700, and left Stockholm, whither he never returned. An innumerable company of people attended him to the port of Carelscoon, offering up their prayers for his safety, bedewing the ground with their tears, and expressing their admiration of his virtue. Before he left Sweden, he established at Stockholm a council of defence, composed of several senators, who were to take care of whatever concerned the navy, the army, and the fortifications of the country. The body of the senate were provisionally to regulate every thing besides, in the interior government of the kingdom. Having thus settled the administration of public affairs, and freed his mind from every other care, he devoted himself intirely to war. His fleet consisted of three and forty vessels: that in which he sailed, named the King Charles, and the largest that had ever been seen, was a ship of an hundred and twenty guns. Count Piper, his first minister, general Renschild, and the count de Guiscard, the French ambassador in Sweden, embarked along with him. He joined the squadrons of the

allies. The Danish fleet declined the combat, and gave the three combined fleets an opportunity of approaching so near to Copenhagen, as to throw some bombs into it.

Certain it is, it was the king himself that first proposed to general Renschild to make a descent, and to besiege Copenhagen by land, while it should be blocked up by sea. Renschild was surprised to receive a proposal that discovered as much prudence as courage, from such a young and unexperienced prince. Every thing was soon got ready for the descent. Orders were given for the embarkation of five thousand men, who lay upon the coast of Sweden, and who were joined to the troops they had on board. The king quitted his large ship and went into a frigate, and they then began to dispatch towards the shore three hundred grenadiers in small shallops. Among the shallops were some flat-bottomed boats that carried the fascines, the chevaux de frize, and the instruments of the pioneers. Five hundred chosen men followed in other shallops. Last of all came the king's men of war, with two English and two Dutch frigates, which were to favour the landing of the troops under cover of their cannon.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the isle of Zealand, in the midst of a beautiful plain, having the Sound on the north-east, and on the east the Baltic, where the king of Sweden then lay. At the unexpected movement of the vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants were struck with consternation. Alarmed at the inactivity of their own fleet, and the motion of the Swedish ships, they looked round with terror, to observe where the storm would fall. Charles's fleet stopped over against Humblebeck, within seven

seven miles of Copenhagen. In that place the Danes immediately drew up their cavalry. Their foot were posted behind thick entrenchments; and what artillery they could bring thither, was pointed against the Swedes.

The king then quitted his frigate, to throw himself into the first shallop, at the head of his guards. The French ambassador being always at his side, "Sir, said the king to him, in Latin, (for he would never speak French,) you have no quarrel with the Danes, you need go no farther, if you please." "Sir, answered the count de Guiscard, in French, the king my master hath ordered me to attend your majesty. I hope you will not this day banish me from your court, which never before appeared so splendid." So saying, he gave his hand to the king, who leaped into the shallop, whither he was followed by count Piper and the ambassador. They advanced under shelter of the cannon of the ships that favoured the landing. The small boats were still about three hundred paces from the shore. Charles, impatient to land, jumped into the sea, sword in hand, the water reaching above his waist. His ministers, the French ambassador, the officers and soldiers, immediately followed his example, and marched up to the shore, amidst a shower of musket-shot from the enemy. The king, who had never in his life before heard a discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked major Stuart, who stood next him, what meant that whistling which he heard. "It is the noise of the musket balls, which they fire upon you," replied the major. "Very well, says the king, henceforward that shall be my music." At that instant the major

received a shot in his shoulder, and a lieutenant on the other side of him fell dead at his feet.

It is usual for troops that are attacked in their trenches to be beat; because the assailants have always an impetuosity of courage, which the defenders cannot have; and besides, to wait for the enemy in our lines is frequently a confession of our own weakness, and of their superiority. The Danish horse and foot took to their heels, after a feeble resistance. The king having become master of their intrenchments, fell upon his knees to return thanks to God for the first success of his arms. He forthwith caused redoubts to be raised towards the town, and himself marked out the place for the encampment. Mean while he sent back his vessels to Schonen, a port of Sweden bordering upon Copenhagen, for a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Every thing conspired to favour the ardour of Charles's courage. The nine thousand men were upon the shore ready to embark, and next day a favourable wind brought them safe to the place of their destination.

All this passed within sight of the Danish fleet, who durst not venture to advance. Copenhagen, struck with terror, immediately sent deputies to the king, beseeching him not to bombard the city. He received them on horseback, at the head of his regiment of guards; and the deputies fell upon their knees before him. He exacted from the citizens four hundred thousand rix-dollars, commanding them, at the same time, to supply his camp with all kind of provisions, for which he assured them they should be honestly paid. They brought the provisions, because they durst not disobey; but they little expected that conquerors would condescend to pay for them;
and

and those who brought them were surprised to find that they were generously and instantly paid; even by the meanest soldier in the army. There had long prevailed among the Swedish troops a strict discipline, which had greatly contributed to the success of their arms; and the king rendered it still more rigid. No soldier durst refuse to pay for what he had bought, still less to go a-plundering, nor even so much as to go out of the camp. What is more, he would not allow his troops, after a victory, to strip the bodies of the dead, until they had obtained his permission; and he easily brought them to the observance of this injunction. Prayers were regularly said in his camp twice a day; at seven in the morning and four in the afternoon; and he never failed to attend them himself, in order to give his soldiers an example of piety as well as of valour. His camp, which was better regulated than Copenhagen, had every thing in abundance; the peasants chusing much rather to sell their provisions to their enemies the Swedes, than to the Danes, who did not pay them so well. Even the citizens were more than once obliged to come to the Swedish camp to purchase those provisions which they could not find in their own markets.

The king of Denmark was then in Holstein, whither he seemed to have gone for no other purpose than to raise the siege of Tonningen. He saw the Baltic covered with the enemies ships, and a young conqueror already master of Zealand, and just upon the point of taking possession of his capital. He caused an edict to be published throughout all his dominions, promising liberty to every one that should take up arms against the Swedes. This declaration was of great

weight in a country which was formerly free, but where all the peasants, and even many of the citizens, are now-a-days slaves. Charles sent word to the king of Denmark, that his only intention in making war was to oblige him to come to a peace; and that he must either resolve to do justice to the duke of Holstein, or see Copenhagen levelled with the ground, and his dominions laid waste with fire and sword. The Dane was too happy in having to do with a conqueror who valued himself on his regard to justice. A congress was held in the town of Travendal, which lies on the frontiers of Holstein. The king of Sweden would not allow the negotiations to be protracted by the arts of ministers; but determined to have the treaty finished with the same rapidity with which he had made his descent upon Zealand. In effect, a peace was concluded, on the fifth of August, to the advantage of the duke of Holstein, who was indemnified for all the expences of the war, and delivered from oppression. The king of Sweden, fully satisfied with having succoured his ally, and humbled his enemy, would accept of nothing for himself. Thus Charles XII. at eighteen years of age, began and finished this war in less than six weeks.

Exactly at the same time, the king of Poland invested Riga, the capital of Livonia; and the czar was advancing on the east, at the head of near an hundred thousand men. Riga was defended by the old count d'Alberg, a Swedish general, who, at the age of eighty, joined all the fire of youth to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count Flemming, afterwards minister of Poland, a man of distinguished abilities as well in the field as the cabinet, and Patkul the Livonian, pushed

pushed the siege with great vigour, under the direction of the king; but notwithstanding several advantages which the besiegers had gained, the experience of old count d'Alberg baffled all their efforts, and the king of Poland began to despair of being able to take the town. At last he laid hold of an honourable pretext for raising the siege. Riga was full of merchants goods belonging to the Dutch. The states-general ordered their ambassador at the court of Augustus, to represent the matter to his majesty. The king of Poland did not long resist their importunities, and agreed to raise the siege, rather than occasion the least damage to his allies, who were not greatly surprised at this stretch of complaisance, to the real cause of which they were no strangers.

The only thing that Charles had now to do, towards the finishing of his first campaign, was to march against his rival in glory, Peter Alexowitz. He was the more exasperated against him, as there were still at Stockholm three Muscovite ambassadors, who had lately sworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. Possessed, as he was himself of the most incorruptible integrity, he could not conceive how a legislator, like the czar, should make a jest of what ought to be held so sacred. The young prince, whose sense of honour was extremely refined, never imagined that there could be one system of morality for kings, and another for private persons. The emperor of Muscovy had just published a manifesto, which he had much better have suppressed. He there alledged, as the reason of the war, the little respect that had been shewn him when he went incognito to Riga, and the extravagant prices

his ambassadors had been obliged to pay for provisions. Such were the mighty injuries for which he ravaged Ingria, with eighty thousand men!

At the head of this great army he appeared before Narva, on the first of October, a season more severe in that climate than the month of January is at Paris. The czar, who in such weather would sometimes ride post for four hundred leagues, to see a mine or a canal, was not more sparing of his troops than of himself. He knew, moreover, that the Swedes, ever since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, could make war in the depth of winter as well as in summer; and he wanted to accustom the Russians likewise to forget all distinction of seasons, and to render them, one day, equal to the Swedes. Thus, in a time when frost and snow compel other nations in more temperate climates to agree to a suspension of arms, the czar Peter besieged Narva, within thirty degrees of the pole, and Charles XII. advanced to its relief. The czar was no sooner arrived before the place, than he immediately put in practice what he had learned in his travels. He marked out his camp, fortified it on all sides, raised redoubts at certain distances, and opened the trenches himself. He had given the command of his troops to the duke de Croix, a German, and an able general, but who at that time was little assisted by the Russian officers. As for himself, he had no other rank in the army than that of a private lieutenant. He thereby gave an example of military obedience to his nobility, hitherto unacquainted with discipline, and accustomed to march at the head of ill-armed slaves, without experience and without order. There

was

was nothing strange in seeing him who had turned carpenter at Amsterdam, in order to procure himself fleets, serve as lieutenant at Narva, to teach his subjects the art of war.

The Muscovites are strong and indefatigable, and perhaps as courageous as the Swedes; but it requires time and discipline to render troops warlike and invincible. The only regiments that could be depended upon were commanded by some German officers; but their number was very inconsiderable. The rest were barbarians forced from their forests, and covered with the skins of wild beasts; some armed with arrows, and others with clubs. Few of them had fuses; none of them had ever seen a regular siege; and there was not one good cannoneer in the whole army. An hundred and fifty cannon, which one would have thought must have soon reduced the little town of Narva to ashes, were hardly able to make a breach, while the artillery of the city mowed down at every discharge whole ranks of the enemy in their trenches. Narva was almost without fortifications: the baron de Hoorn, who commanded there, had not a thousand regular troops; and yet this immense army could not reduce it in ten weeks.

It was now the fifth of November, when the czar learned that the king of Sweden had crossed the sea with two hundred transports, and was advancing to the relief of Narva. The Swedes were not above twenty thousand strong. The czar had no advantage but that of numbers. Far therefore from despising his enemy, he employed every art in order to crush him. Not content with eighty thousand men, he resolved to oppose to him another army still, and to check

his progress at every step. He had already given orders for the march of about thirty thousand men, who were advancing from Pleskow with great expedition. He then took a step that would have rendered him contemptible, could a legislator who had performed such great and glorious actions incur that imputation. He left his camp, where his presence was necessary, to go in quest of this new army, which might have arrived well enough without him, and seemed by this conduct to betray his fear of engaging in his entrenchments a young and unexperienced prince who might come to attack him.

Be that as it will, he resolved to shut up Charles XII. between two armies. Nor was this all: a detachment of thirty thousand men from the camp before Narva were posted at a league's distance from the city, directly in the king of Sweden's road: twenty thousand fire-lits were placed farther off, upon the same road; and five thousand others composed an advanced guard; and he must necessarily force his way through all these troops before he could reach the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and double fosse. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernaw, in the gulph of Riga, with about sixteen thousand foot, and little more than four thousand horse. From Pernaw he made a flying march to Revel, followed by all his cavalry, and only by four thousand foot. He always marched in the van of his army, without waiting for the rear. He soon found himself, with his eight thousand men only, before the first posts of the enemy. He immediately resolved, without the least hesitation, to attack them, one after another, before they could possibly learn with what a small number they had
to

to engage. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes come upon them, imagined they had a whole army to encounter. The advanced guard of five thousand men, posted among rocks, a station where one hundred resolute men might have stopped the march of a large army, fled at their first approach. The twenty thousand men that lay behind them, perceiving the flight of their fellow soldiers, took the alarm, and carried their terror and confusion with them into the camp. All the posts were carried in two days; and what upon other occasions would have been reckoned three distinct victories, did not retard the king's march for the space of one hour. He appeared then at last with his eight thousand men, exhausted by the fatigues of so long a march, before a camp of eighty thousand Muscovites, defended by a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and, scarce allowing his troops any time for rest, he instantly gave orders for the attack.

The signal was two fuses, and the word in German, "With the aid of God." A general officer having represented to him the greatness of the danger, "What, says he, do not you think, that with my eight thousand brave Swedes, I may easily beat eighty thousand Russians?" But soon after, fearing that what he had said might savour too much of gasconade, he ran after the officer, "And are not you (says he) of the same opinion? have not I a double advantage over the enemy? one, that their cavalry can be of no service to them; the other, that the place being narrow, their number will only incommode them; and thus in reality I shall be stronger than they." The officer did not care to differ from him; and thus they

they marched against the Muscovites about mid-day, on the 30th of November 1700.

As soon as their cannon had made a breach in their intrenchments, the Swedes advanced with screwed bayonets, having a furious shower of snow on their backs, which drove full in the face of the enemy. The Russians stood the shock for half an hour, without flinching. The king made his attack upon the right of the camp, where the czar's quarters lay, hoping to come to a rencounter with him, as he did not know that he had gone in quest of the forty thousand men, who were daily expected to arrive. At the first discharge of the enemy's muskets, he received a shot in his neck; but as it was a spent ball, it lodged in the folds of his black neckcloth, and did him no harm. His horse was killed under him. Mr. de Spar told me, that the king mounted another horse with great agility, saying, "These fellows make me go thorough my exercise;" and continued to fight and give orders with the same presence of mind. After an engagement of three hours, the entrenchments were forced on all sides. The king pursued the right of the enemy as far as the river Narva, with his left wing; if we may be allowed to call by that name about four thousand men, who were in pursuit of near forty thousand. The bridge broke under the fugitives; and the river was immediately filled with dead carcases. The rest returned to their camp, without knowing whither they went; and finding some barracks, they took post behind them. There they defended themselves for a while, as they were not able to make their escape; but at last their generals Dolgorouky, Goloffkin, and Federowitz, surrendered themselves to the king, and laid their

arms

arms at his feet; and while they were presenting them to him, the duke de Croi came up and surrendered himself with thirty officers.

Charles received all these prisoners of distinction with as much civility and politeness as if he had been paying them the honours of an entertainment in his own court. He detained none but the general officers. All the subalterns and common soldiers were disarmed and conducted to the river Narva, where they were supplied with boats for passing over, and allowed to return to their own country. In the mean time night came on, and the right wing of the Muscovites still continued the fight. The Swedes had not lost above six hundred men. Eight thousand Muscovites had been killed in their intrenchments; many were drowned; many had crossed the river; and yet there still remained in the camp a sufficient number to cut off the Swedes to the last man. But the loss of battles is not so much owing to the number of the killed, as to the timidity of those who survive. The king employed the small remains of the day in seizing upon the enemy's artillery. He took possession of an advantageous post between the camp and the city, where he slept a few hours upon the ground, wrapt up in his cloak, intending, at day-break, to fall upon the left wing of the enemy, which was not yet intirely routed. But at two o'clock in the morning, general Wade, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and of his having dismissed all the subaltern officers and soldiers, sent a messenger to him, begging he would grant him the same favour. The conqueror replied, that he should have it, provided he would come

at the head of his troops, and make them lay their arms and colours at his feet. Soon after the general appeared with his Muscovites, to the number of about thirty thousand. They marched, both soldiers and officers, with their heads uncovered, through less than seven thousand Swedes. The soldiers, as they passed the king, threw their guns and swords upon the ground, and the officers presented him with their ensigns and colours. He caused the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river, without detaining a single soldier. Had he kept them, the number of prisoners would at least have been five times greater than that of the conquerors.

After this, he entered victorious into Narva, accompanied by the duke de Croi, and other general officers of the Muscovites. He ordered their swords to be restored to them all; and knowing that they wanted money, and that the merchants of Narva would not lend them any, he sent a thousand ducats to the duke de Croi, and five hundred to every Muscovite officer, who could not sufficiently admire the civility of this treatment, of which they were incapable of forming the least conception. An account of the victory was immediately drawn up at Narva, in order to be sent to Stockholm, and to the allies of Sweden; but the king expunged with his own hand every circumstance in the relation that tended too much to his own honour, or seemed to reflect upon the czar. His modesty however could not hinder them from striking at Stockholm several medals to perpetuate the memory of these events. Among others they struck one which represented the king on one side, standing on a pedestal, to which were chained a Muscovite, a Dane,

a Dane, and a Polander; and on the reverse a Hercules, holding his club, and treading upon a Cerberus, with this inscription: *Tres uno contudit istu.*

Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Narva, there was one whose fate exhibited a remarkable instance of the great inconstancy of fortune. He was the eldest son and heir of the king of Georgia; his name the czarasis Artschelou. This title of czarasis, among the Tartars, as well as in Muscovy, signifies prince, or son of the czar; for the word czar, or tsar, signified king among the ancient Scythians, from whom all these people are descended, and is not derived from the Cæsars of Rome, so long unknown to these barbarians. His father Mittelleski, czar, and master of the most beautiful part of the country, lying between the mountains of Ararat and the eastern coasts of the Black Sea, having been expelled from his kingdom by his own subjects, in 1688, had rather chosen to throw himself into the arms of the emperor of Muscovy, than to apply to the Turks for assistance. His son, a youth of nineteen years of age, followed Peter the Great in his expedition against the Swedes, and was taken fighting by some Finland soldiers, who had already stripped him, and were upon the point of killing him. Count Renschild rescued him from their hands, supplied him with cloaths, and presented him to his master. Charles sent him to Stockholm, where the unfortunate prince died in a few years after. The king, upon seeing him depart, could not help making, in the hearing of his officers, a very natural reflection on the strange fate of an Asiatick prince, born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, and going to live a prisoner among the

the snows of Sweden. "It is just, says he, as if I were one day to be a prisoner among the Crim Tartars." These words made no impression at that time; but, in the sequel, there was but too much occasion to remember them, when the event had proved them to be a prediction.

The czar was advancing, by long marches, with a body of forty thousand Russians, in full hopes of surrounding his enemy on all sides; but before he had proceeded half way, he received intelligence of the battle of Narva, and of the dispersion of his whole army. He was not so foolish as to think of attacking with his forty thousand raw and undisciplined troops, a conqueror, who had lately defeated eighty thousand men in their entrenchments. He returned home, with a determined resolution of disciplining his troops, at the same time that he civilized his subjects. "I know," says he, that the Swedes will beat us for a long time; but, at last, they will teach us to beat them." Moscow, his capital, was in the utmost terror and consternation at the news of this defeat. Such was the pride and ignorance of the people, that they actually imagined they had been conquered by a power more than human, and that the Swedes were so many magicians. This opinion was so general, that public prayers were ordered to be put up to St. Nicholas, the patron of Muscovy, on the occasion. The form of these prayers is too singular to be omitted. It runs thus:

"O thou, who art our perpetual comforter in all our adversities, great St. Nicholas, infinitely powerful, by what sin have we offended thee, in our sacrifices, kneelings, bowings, and thanksgivings, that thou hast thus abandoned us? We implored

explored thy assistance against these terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, unconquerable destroyers, when, like lions and bears robbed of their young, they fell upon, terrified, wounded, and slew by thousands, us who are thy people. As it is impossible that this should have happened without forcery and witchcraft, we beseech thee, O great St. Nicholas, to be our champion and standard-bearer, to deliver us from this troop of forcerers, and to drive them far from our frontiers, with the recompense they deserve."

While the Muscovites were thus complaining of their defeat to St. Nicholas, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared himself for new victories.

The king of Poland had reason to fear, that his enemy, already victorious over the Danes and the Muscovites, would soon turn his arms against him. He entered into a closer alliance with the czar than ever he had done before. These two princes agreed upon an interview, in order to concert their measures. They met at Birsén, a small town in Lithuania, without any of those formalities which serve only to retard business, and neither suited their situation nor their humour. The princes of the North visit one another with a familiarity that has not yet taken place in the more southern parts of Europe. Peter and Augustus spent fifteen days together, in the enjoyment of pleasures, which were even somewhat extravagant; for the czar, amidst his cares for the reformation of his subjects, could never correct his dangerous propension to debauchery.

The king of Poland engaged to furnish the czar with fifty thousand German troops, which were to be hired from several princes, and for which
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the czar was to pay. Peter, on the other hand, was to send fifty thousand Russians into Poland, to learn the art of war, and promised to pay to Augustus three millions of rix dollars in two years. This treaty, had it been carried into execution, might have proved fatal to the king of Sweden: it was a sure and ready method of rendering the Muscovites good soldiers: perhaps it was forging chains for a part of Europe.

Charles XII. exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the king of Poland from reaping any benefit from this league. After having passed the winter at Narva, he appeared in Livonia in the neighbourhood of Riga, the very town which Augustus had in vain besieged. The Saxon troops were posted along the river Duna, which is very broad in that place; and Charles, who lay on the other side of the river, was obliged to dispute the passage. The Saxons were not commanded by their own prince, who was then sick, but were headed by Marshal Stenau, who acted as general, under whom commanded prince Ferdinand duke of Courland, and that same Patkul, who had formerly, at the hazard of his life, vindicated the privileges of his country, against Charles XI. by his pen, and now defended the same cause against Charles XII. by his arms. The king of Sweden had caused some large boats to be built of a new construction, whose sides were much higher than ordinary, and could be raised or let down, like a draw-bridge. When raised they covered the troops on board, and when let down they served as a bridge to land them. He likewise made use of another artifice. Having observed that the wind blew from the north, where he lay, to the south, where the enemy were encamped, he set fire

fire to a large heap of wet straw, which diffusing a thick smoak over the river, prevented the Saxons from seeing his troops, or observing what he was going to do. Under cover of this cloud, he dispatched some barks filled with more of the same smoaking straw; so that the cloud always encreasing, and being driven by the wind directly to the face of the enemy, rendered it impossible for them to know whether the king was passing or not. Mean while, he alone conducted the execution of his stratagem; and when he had reached the middle of the river, "Well, says he to general Renschild, the Duna will be as favourable to us as the sea of Copenhagen; take my word for it, general, we shall beat them." He arrived at the other side in a quarter of an hour, and was sorry to find that he was only the fourth person that leapt on shore. He forthwith landed his cannon, and drew up his troops in order of battle, while the enemy, blinded with smoke, could make no opposition, except by a few random shot. At last the mist being dispersed by the wind, the Saxons saw the king of Sweden already advancing against them.

Mareschal Stenau lost not a moment. As soon as he observed the Swedes, he rushed upon them with the flower of his cavalry. The violent shock of this body falling upon the Swedes just as they were forming, threw them into confusion. They gave way, were broken, and pursued even into the river. The king of Sweden rallied them in a moment, in the midst of the water, with as much composure as if he had been making a review; then the Swedes, marching more compact than before, repulsed mareschal Stenau, and advanced into the plain. Stenau, finding his troops
begin

begin to stagger, acted like an able general. He made them retire into a dry place, flanked with a morass and a wood, where his artillery lay. The advantage of the ground, and the time which the Saxons had thus obtained, of recovering from their first surprize, restored to them their former courage. Charles immediately began the attack. He had fifteen thousand men: Stenau and the duke of Courland about twelve thousand, with no other artillery than one dismounted cannon. The battle was obstinate and bloody. The duke had two horses killed under him: he penetrated thrice into the heart of the king's guards; but at length being unhorsed by a blow with the but-end of a musket, his army was thrown into confusion, and no longer disputed the victory. His cuirassiers carried him off with great difficulty, all bruised, and half dead, from the thickest of the fight, and from under the horses heels, which trampled on him.

Immediately after this victory, the king of Sweden advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. All the towns of the dutchy surrendered, to him at discretion: it was rather a journey than a conquest. From thence he passed without delay into Lithuania, conquering wherever he came: and he felt a pleasing satisfaction, as he himself owned; when he entered triumphant into the town of Birsen, where the king of Poland and the czar had plotted his destruction but a few months before.

It was in this place that he formed the design of dethroning the king of Poland, by the hands of the Poles themselves. One day when he was at table, full of this enterprize, and observing as usual, the strictest temperance, wrapped up in a pro-

profound silence, and seeming, as it were, absorbed in the greatness of his conceptions, a German colonel who waited upon him, said with an audible voice, that the meals which the czar and the king of Poland had made in the same place were somewhat different from those of his majesty. "Yes, says the king, rising, and' I shall the more easily spoil their digestion." In short, by intermixing a little policy with the force of his arms, he resolved to hasten the execution of this mighty project.

Poland, a part of the ancient Sarmatia, is somewhat larger than France, but less populous, though it is more so than Sweden. The inhabitants were converted to Christianity only about seven hundred and fifty years ago. It is somewhat surprising, that the Roman language, which never penetrated into that country, is now-a-days spoken in common no where but in Poland; there every one speaks Latin, even the very servants. This extensive country is very fertile; but the natives are only, on that account, so much the less industrious. The artists and tradesmen in Poland, are Scotch, French, and especially Jews. The last have, in this country, near three hundred synagogues; and multiplying too fast, and to too great numbers, they will in time be banished from it, as they have already been from Spain. They buy the corn, the cattle, and the commodities of the country at a low rate, dispose of them at Dantzick, and in Germany, and sell to the nobles at a high price wherewithal to gratify the only species of luxury which they know and love. Thus Poland, watered with the finest rivers in the world, rich in pastures, and in mines of salt, and covered with luxuriant crops, remains

poor, in spite of its plenty; because the people are slaves, and the nobles are proud and indolent.

The constitution of Poland is the most perfect model of the ancient government of the Goths and Celtæ, which hath been corrected or altered every where else. It is the only state that has preserved the name of republick together with the royal dignity.

Every gentleman has a right to give his vote in the election of a king, and may even be elected himself. This inestimable privilege is attended with inconveniences proportionably great. The throne is almost always exposed to sale; and as a Polander is seldom able to make the purchase, it has frequently been sold to strangers. The nobility and clergy defend their liberties against the king, and deprive the rest of the nation of theirs. The body of the people are slaves. Such is the unhappy fate of mankind, that in every country the greater number are, one way or other, enslaved by the lesser. There the peasant sows not for himself, but for his lord, to whom his person, his lands, and even the labour of his hands belong; and who can sell him, or cut his throat with the same impunity as he kills the beasts in the field. Every gentleman is independent. He cannot be tried in a criminal cause but by an assembly of the whole nation: he cannot be arrested till once he is condemned; so that he is hardly ever punished. There are great numbers of poor among them. These engage in the service of the more wealthy, receive wages from them, and perform the meanest offices. They rather chuse to serve their equals, than to enrich themselves by commerce; and while they are dressing their masters horses, they give themselves

selves the title of electors of kings and destroyers of tyrants.

To see a king of Poland in the pomp of royal majesty, one would take him to be the most absolute prince in Europe ; and yet he is the least so. The Poles really make with him that contract, which in other nations is only supposed to be made between the king and the subjects. The king of Poland, even at his consecration, and in swearing to the *Pacta conventa*, absolves his subjects from the oath of allegiance, should he ever violate the laws of the republic.

He nominates to all offices, and confers all honours. Nothing is hereditary in Poland, but the lands and rank of the nobility. The son of a palatine, or of a king, has no claim to the dignity of his father. But there is this great difference betwixt the king and the republic, that the former cannot strip any person of an office after he has bestowed it upon him ; whereas the latter may deprive him of the crown, if he transgress the laws of the state.

The nobility, jealous of their liberty, frequently sell their votes, but seldom their affections. They have no sooner elected a king, than they begin to fear his ambition, and to oppose him by their cabals. The grandees whom he has made, and whom he cannot unmake, often become his enemies, instead of remaining his creatures. Those who are attached to the court are hated by the rest of the nobility, which always forms two parties ; a division unavoidable, and even necessary in those countries, that must needs have kings, and yet preserve their liberties.

Whatever concerns the nation is regulated in the assemblies of the states-general, which are

called diets. These states are composed of the body of the senate, and of several gentlemen. The senators are the palatines and the bishops: the gentlemen the deputies of the particular diets in each palatinate. In these great assemblies presides the archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, viceroy of the kingdom during an interregnum, and, next to the king, the first person in the state. Besides him there is seldom any other cardinal in Poland; because the Roman purple giving no precedence in the senate a bishop who should be made a cardinal, would be obliged either to take his rank as senator, or to renounce the substantial rights of the dignity he enjoys in his own country, to support the vain pretensions of a foreign honour.

These diets, by the laws of the kingdom, must be held alternately in Poland and Lithuania. The deputies frequently transact their business *à la* sabre in hand, like the ancient Sarmatians, from whom they are sprung, and sometimes too intoxicated with liquor, a vice to which the Sarmatians were utter strangers. Every gentleman deputed to the states-general enjoys the same right which the tribunes of the people had at Rome, of opposing themselves to the laws of the senate. Any one gentleman, who says, "I protest," stops by that single word, the unanimous resolution of all the rest; and if he quits the place where the diet is held, the assembly is of course dissolved.

To the disorders arising from this law, they apply a remedy still more dangerous. Poland is seldom without two factions. Unanimity in their diets being thus rendered impossible, each party forms confederacies, in which they decide by a plurality of voices, without any regard to the pro-

protestation of the lesser number. These assemblies, condemned by the laws, but authorised by custom, are held in the king's name, though frequently without his consent, and even against his interest; in much the same manner as the league in France made use of the name of Henry III. to ruin him; and as the parliament in England, that brought Charles I. to the block, began by prefixing his majesty's name to all the resolutions they took to destroy him. When the public commotions are ended, it belongs to the general diets either to confirm or repeal the acts of these confederacies. A diet can even cancel the acts of a former diet; for the same reason that in absolute monarchies a king can abolish the laws of his predecessor, or even those which have been made by himself.

The nobility, who make the laws of the republic, likewise constitute its strength. They appear on horseback, completely armed, upon great emergencies, and are able to make up a body of an hundred thousand men. This great army, which is called *pospolite*, moves slowly, and is ill governed. It cannot continue assembled for any length of time, for want of provisions and forage: it has neither discipline, subordination, nor experience; but that love of liberty by which it is animated will always make it formidable.

These nobles may be conquered, or dispersed, or even held in subjection for a time; but they soon shake off the yoke. They compare themselves to the reeds, which the storm may bend to the ground, but which rise again the moment the storm is over. It is for this reason that they have no places of strength: they will have themselves to be the only bulwarks of the republic.

lick, nor do they ever suffer their king to build any forts, lest he should employ them less for their defence than their oppression. Their country is intirely open, excepting two or three frontier places; so that if in a war, whether civil or foreign, they resolve to sustain a siege, they are obliged to raise fortifications of earth, in a hurry, to repair the old walls that are half ruined, and to enlarge the ditches that are almost filled up; and the town is commonly taken before the entrenchments are finished.

The pospolite are not always on horseback to defend the country: they never mount but by order of the diets, or sometimes in imminent dangers, by the simple order of the king.

The usual guard of Poland is an army, which ought to be maintained at the expence of the republic. It is composed of two bodies, under two grand generals. The first body is that of Poland, and should consist of thirty-six thousand men; the second, to the number of twelve thousand, is that of Lithuania. The two grand generals are independent of each other: though nominated by the king, they are accountable for their conduct to the republic alone, and have an unlimited power over their troops. The colonels are absolute masters of their regiments; and it is their business to maintain and pay them as well as they can. But as they are seldom paid themselves, they ravage the country, ruin the peasants, to satisfy their own avidity, and that of their soldiers. The Polish lords appear in these armies with more magnificence than they do in the towns; and their tents are more elegant than their houses. The cavalry, which makes up two thirds of the army, is composed almost entirely of gentlemen; and is

remarkable for the beauty of their horses, and the richness of the accoutrements and harness.

The gendarmes especially, whom they distinguish into hussars and pancernes, never march without several valers in their retinue, who lead their horses; those are furnished with bridles that are ornamented with plates and nails of silver, embroidered saddles, saddle bows, and gilt stirrups, or stirrups made of massy silver, with large housings trailing on the ground, after the manner of the Turks, whose magnificence the Poles endeavour to imitate as much as they can.

But if the cavalry are fine and gorgeous, the infantry were at that time proportionably wretched, ill clothed, and ill armed, without regimentals, or any thing uniform. Such at least was their condition, till towards the year 1710: and yet these infantry, who resemble the wandering Tartars, support hunger, cold, fatigue, and all the hardships of war with surprising resolution.

One may still discern in the Polish soldiers the character of their ancestors, the ancient Sarmatians, the same want of discipline, the same fury in the assault, the same readiness to fly and to return to the charge, and the same cruel disposition to slaughter when they conquer.

The king of Poland flattered himself at first, that in this pressing necessity, these two bodies would support his cause; that the Polish *pospolite* would take up arms at his orders; and that these forces, joined to the Saxon subjects, and to his Russian allies, would compose an army, before which the small number of the Swedes would not dare to appear. But he found himself, almost in an instant, deprived of these succours by means of that very eagerness he discovered to have them all at once.

Accustomed, in his hereditary dominions, to the exercise of absolute power, he too fondly imagined that he might govern in Poland as he did in Saxony. The beginning of his reign raised malecontents. His first proceedings provoked the party that had opposed his election, and alienated almost all the rest of the nation. The Poles murmured to see the towns filled with Saxon garri- sons, and their frontiers lined with Saxon troops. This nation, more anxious to preserve its liberty, than to attack its neighbours, considered the war with Sweden, and the irruption into Livonia, as enterprizes by no means advantageous to the republic. It is very difficult to hinder a free people from seeing their true interest. The Poles were sensible, that if this war, undertaken without their consent, should prove unsuccessful, their country open on all sides, would become a prey to the king of Sweden; and that should it be crowned with success, they would be enslaved by their own king, who being master of Livonia, as well as of Saxony, would shut up Poland between these two states. In this alternative, either of becoming slaves to the king, whom they had elected, or of being pillaged by Charles XII. who was justly incensed, they raised a clamour against the war, which they believed to be declared rather against themselves than against Sweden. They considered the Saxons and the Muscovites as the forgers of their chains; and observing soon after that the king of Sweden had overcome every thing that opposed his progress, and was advancing with a victorious army into the heart of Lithuania, they loudly exclaimed against their sovereign, and with so much the greater freedom as he was unfortunate.

Lithuania was at that time divided into two parties, that of the princes of Sapieha, and that of Oginsky. The animosity between these two factions, occasioned at first by private quarrels, had at last been inflamed into a civil war. The king of Sweden engaged the princes of Sapieha in his interest; and Oginsky being poorly supported by the Saxons, found his party almost annihilated. The Lithuanian army, reduced by these troubles and the want of money to an inconsiderable number, was partly dispersed by the conquerors. The few that still held out for the king of Poland were separated into small bodies of fugitive troops, who wandered up and down the country, and subsisted by spoil. Augustus beheld nothing in Lithuania but the weakness of his own party, the hatred of his subjects, and an hostile army, conducted by a young king, incensed, victorious, and implacable.

There was indeed an army in Poland; but instead of six and thirty thousand men, the number prescribed by the law, it did not amount to eighteen thousand; and it was not only ill-paid and ill-armed, but the generals were as yet undetermined what course to take.

The only resource of the king was, to order the nobility to follow him; but he durst not expose himself to the mortification of a refusal, which, by discovering his weakness too plainly, would of consequence have increased it.

In this state of trouble and uncertainty, all the palatinates of the kingdom desired the king to call a diet; in the same manner as in England, during times of danger, all the bodies of the state present addresses to the sovereign, entreating him to convoke a parliament. Augustus had more

need of an army than a diet, in which the actions of kings are severely canvassed. However, that he might not incense the nation beyond a possibility of reconciliation, he found it necessary to assemble a diet; which was accordingly appointed to be held at Warsaw, on the second of December 1701. He soon perceived that Charles XII. had, at least, as much power in this assembly as himself. Those who favoured the Sapienza, the Lubomirsky and their friends, the palatine Leczinsky, treasurer of the crown, and especially the partizans of the princes Sobiesky, were all of them secretly attached to the king of Sweden.

The most considerable of these partizans, and the most dangerous to the king of Poland, was cardinal Radjousky, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, and president of the diet. He was a man full of artifice and cunning, and entirely under the influence of an ambitious woman, who was called by the Swedes madam Cardinalesse, and who was egging him on to intrigue and faction. King John Sobiesky, the predecessor of Augustus, had first made him bishop of Warmia and vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Radjousky, when no more than a bishop, had obtained the cardinal's hat by the favour of the same prince. This dignity soon opened his way to the primacy; and thus by uniting in his own person whatever can impose upon mankind, he was able to undertake the most arduous enterprises, without incurring the least danger.

After the death of John, he employed all his interest to raise prince James Sobiesky to the throne; but the torrent of public hatred ran so strong against the father, notwithstanding the eminent qualities of which he was possessed, that it

entirely excluded the son from that dignity. After this, the cardinal-primate joined his endeavours with those of the abbé de Polignac, the French ambassador, to procure the crown to the prince of Conti, who was actually elected. But the money and troops of Saxony defeated all his negotiations. At last he suffered himself to be drawn over to the party that crowned the elector of Saxony, and patiently waited for an opportunity of sowing dissention between the new king and the nation.

The victories of Charles XII. the protector of prince James Sobiesky, the civil war in Lithuania, the general alienation of men's minds from king Augustus; all these circumstances made the cardinal-primate believe, that the time was now come when he might safely send back Augustus into Saxony, and open for king John's son the way to the throne. This prince, formerly the innocent object of the hatred of the Poles, was now become their darling, ever since the time that Augustus had lost the public favour; but he durst not as yet entertain the most distant hopes of so great a revolution, of which, however, the cardinal was already laying the foundation.

At first he seemed desirous of effecting a reconciliation between the king and the republic; and dispatched circular letters, dictated in appearance by the spirit of charity and concord; a common and well known snare, in which, however, the people are always caught. He wrote an affecting letter to the king of Sweden, conjuring him, in the name of that Saviour whom all Christians adore, to give peace to Poland and her king. Charles XII. answered the intentions of the car-

dinal rather than his words. Mean while he remained with his victorious army in the great dutchy of Lithuania, declaring, that he would not disturb the diet; that he made war against Augustus and the Saxons, and not against the Poles; and that, far from attacking, he came only to deliver them from oppression. These letters and these answers were calculated for the public. The emissaries that were continually going and coming between the cardinal and count Piper, and the secret meetings held at the prelate's house, were the springs that regulated the motions of the diet. They proposed to dispatch an embassy to Charles XII. and unanimously required of the king, that he should bring no more Muscovites upon their frontiers, and that he should send back his Saxon troops.

The bad fortune of Augustus had already done what the diet demanded of him. The league secretly concluded with the Muscovites at Birsén, was now become as useless as it had once appeared formidable. He was far from being able to send to the czar the fifty thousand Germans, whom he had promised to raise in the empire. The czar himself, a dangerous neighbour to Poland, was in no haste to assist a divided kingdom, from whose misfortunes he hoped to derive some advantage. He contented himself with sending twenty thousand Muscovites into Lithuania, who did more mischief than the Swedes, flying every where before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the Poles; till at last being pursued by the Swedish generals, and finding no more to pillage, they returned in shoals to their own country. With regard to the shattered remains of the Saxon

Saxon army that was beat at Riga, Augustus sent them to winter and recruit in Saxony; hoping by this sacrifice, involuntary as it was, to regain the affection of the Poles, who were so highly incensed against him.

The war now was turned into intrigues. The diet was split into almost as many factions as there were palatines. One day the interests of king Augustus prevailed; the next they were disregarded. Every one called out for liberty and justice; and yet no one knew what was liberty and justice. The time was spent in private cabals and public harangues. The diet neither knew what they would be at, nor what they ought to do. Great companies seldom steer the right course in times of public commotions; because the factions are bold, and the virtuous are commonly diffident. The diet broke up in a tumultuous manner, on the 17th of February 1702, after having spent three months in cabals, without coming to any fixed resolution. The senators, consisting of the palatines and bishops, remained at Warsaw. The senate of Poland has a right of making laws provisionally, which the diets seldom disannul. This body being less numerous, and accustomed to business, was far less tumultuous, and decided with greater dispatch.

They decreed that the embassy, which was proposed in the diet, should be sent to the king of Sweden; and that the pospolite should take to arms, and hold themselves in readiness at all events. They made several regulations for quelling the commotions in Lithuania, and for diminishing the authority of the king, though less to be dreaded than that of Charles XII.

Augustus rather chose to receive hard laws from his conqueror than from his subjects. He resolved to sue for a peace to the king of Sweden, and to conclude a secret treaty with that monarch. This was a step which he was obliged to conceal from the senate, whom he considered as an enemy still more untractable than Charles. As the affair was of a very delicate nature, he entrusted it to the countess of Konigsmark, a Swedish lady of high birth, to whom he was at that time attached. This is the lady whose brother became so famous by his unfortunate death, and whose son commanded the French armies with so much glory and success. Celebrated as she was for her wit and beauty, she was more capable than any minister of bringing a negotiation to a happy period. Moreover, as she had an estate in the dominions of Charles XII. and had resided a long time at his court, she had a very plausible pretext for waiting upon him. Accordingly she repaired to the Swedish camp in Lithuania, and immediately applied to count Piper, who too rashly promised her an audience of his master. The countess, among those perfections which rendered her the most amiable woman in Europe, possessed the happy talent of speaking the languages of several countries she had never seen, with as much ease and propriety as if she had been a native. She even amused herself sometimes in writing French verses, which one might have easily mistaken for the production of a person born at Versailles. Those which she composed on Charles XII. are not beneath the dignity of history to mention. She introduced the heathen gods praising him for his different virtues. The piece concluded thus :

Enfer,

*Enfin, chacun des Dieux discourant à sa gloire,
Le plaçait par avance au Temple de Mémoire ;
Mais Venus ni Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.*

The hero's acts while other gods proclaim,
And praise, and promise him immortal fame ;
Silent sit Bacchus and the queen of love.

All her wit and charms were lost upon such a man as the king of Sweden, who constantly refused to see her. She therefore resolved to throw herself in his way, as he rode out to take the air, which he frequently did. In this attempt she at last succeeded. She met him one day in a very narrow path ; and the moment she observed him, came down from her coach. The king made her a low bow, without speaking a word to her, turned about his horse, and rode back in an instant. And thus the only advantage which the countess of Konigsmark gained from her journey was the pleasure of seeing that the king of Sweden feared nobody but her.

The king of Poland was therefore obliged to throw himself into the arms of the senate. He made them two proposals, which were laid before them by the palatine of Marienburg ; the one, that they should leave to him the disposal of the republic, in which case he would engage to pay the soldiers two quarters advance out of his own revenue ; the other, that they should allow him to bring back twelve thousand Saxons into Poland. The cardinal primate returned him an answer as severe as the king of Sweden's refusal. He told the palatine of Marienburg, in the name of the assembly, " That they had resolved to send

an embassy to Charles XII. and that he would not advise him to bring back any Saxons."

In this extremity, the king was desirous of preserving at least the appearance of the royal authority. He sent one of his chamberlains to wait upon Charles, and to learn from him where, and in what manner, his Swedish majesty would be pleased to receive the embassy of the king his master, and of the republic. Unhappily they had forgot to ask from the Swedes a passport for the chamberlain. The king of Sweden, instead of giving him an audience, caused him to be thrown into prison, saying, "That he expected to receive an embassy from the republic, and not from Augustus."

After this, Charles having left garrisons in some towns in Lithuania, advanced beyond Grodno, a city well known in Europe for the diets that are held there, but ill built, and worse fortified.

A few miles on the other side of Grodno, he met the embassy of the republic, which consisted of five senators. They desired, in the first place, to have the ceremony of their introduction properly regulated, a thing with which the king was utterly unacquainted. They demanded, that the senate should be complimented with the title of Most Serene, and that the coaches of the king and senators should be sent to meet them. They were told in answer, "That the republic should be stiled Illustrious, and not Most Serene; that the king never used any coaches; that he had plenty of officers in his retinue, but no senators; that a lieutenant-general should be sent to meet them; and that they might come on their own horses."

Charles

Charles XII. received them in his tent, with some appearance of military grandeur. Their conversation was full of caution and reserve. They said they were afraid of Charles XII. and did not love Augustus; but that it would be a shame for them to take the crown, in obedience to the orders of a stranger, from the head of that prince whom they had elected. Nothing was finally concluded; and Charles XII. gave them to understand, that he would settle all disputes at Warsaw.

His march was preceded by a manifesto, which the cardinal and his party spread over Poland in the space of eight days. By this writing, Charles invited all the Poles to join him in revenging their own quarrel, and endeavoured to persuade them that his interest and theirs were the same. They were, however, very different; but the manifesto, supported by a powerful army, by the disorder of the senate, and by the approach of the conqueror, made a deep impression on the minds of the people. They were obliged to own Charles for their protector, because he was resolved to be so; and happy was it for them, that he contented himself with this title.

The senators who opposed Augustus published this manifesto aloud, even in the royal presence. The few who adhered to him observed a profound silence. At length, intelligence being brought that Charles was advancing by long marches, every one prepared to depart in a hurry. The cardinal left Warsaw among the first. The greatest part fled with precipitation; some retired to their country-seats, there to wait the unravelling of this perplexed and intricate affair; others went to arm their friends. Nobody remained with the king but the

the ambassadors of the emperor and the czar, the pope's nuncio, and a few bishops and palatines who were attached to his fortunes. He was forced to fly, though nothing as yet decided in his favour. Before his departure, he hastened to hold a council with the small body of senators who still represented the senate. Zealous as these were for his interest, they were nevertheless Poles; they had all conceived such an utter aversion to the Saxon troops, that they durst not grant him a liberty of recalling more than six thousand of them for his defence; and they even voted that these six thousand should be commanded by the grand general of Poland, and be immediately sent back upon the conclusion of a peace. The armies of the republic they left entirely to his disposal.

After this decree of the senate, the king left Warsaw, too weak to resist his enemies, and but little satisfied even with the conduct of his friends. He immediately published orders for assembling the *pospolite* and the two armies, which were little more than empty names. He had nothing to hope for in Lithuania, of which the Swedes were in possession. The army of Poland, reduced to an handful of men, was in want of arms and provisions, and had no great inclination to the war. Most of the nobility, intimidated, irresolute, and disaffected, remained at their country-seats. In vain did the king, authorized by the laws of the land, command every gentleman, under pain of death, to take up arms and follow him. It was even become a problematical point whether or not they ought to obey him. His chief dependence was upon the troops of the electorate, where the form of government being wholly despotic, he was under no apprehensions of being disobeyed. He had already given

secret orders for the march of twelve thousand Saxons, who were advancing with great expedition. He likewise recalled the eight thousand men whom he had promised to the emperor in his war against France, and whom the necessity of his affairs now obliged him to withdraw. To introduce so many Saxons into Poland, was, in effect, to alienate the affections of all his subjects, and to violate the law made by his own party, which allowed only of six thousand. But he well knew, that, if he proved victorious, they would not dare to complain, and if he should be conquered, they would never forgive him for having introduced even the six thousand. While the soldiers were arriving in troops, and while he was flying from one palatinate to another, and assembling the nobility who adhered to him, the king of Sweden reached Warsaw, on the 5th of May, 1702. The gates were opened to him at the first summons. He dismissed the Polish garrison, disbanded the city-guard, posted guards of his own in all the convenient places, and ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms. Satisfied with having disarmed them, and unwilling to provoke them by any unnecessary severities, he demanded a contribution of no more than one hundred thousand livres. Augustus was then assembling his forces at Cracow, and was greatly surprised to see the cardinal-primate arrive among the rest. This man affected to maintain the decorum of his character to the last, and to dethrone his king with all the appearance of the most respectful behaviour. He gave him to understand that the king of Sweden seemed very well inclined to come to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly begged leave to wait upon that monarch. Augustus granted

granted him what he could not refuse, that is, the liberty of hurting himself.

The cardinal-primate immediately repaired to the king of Sweden, before whom he had not as yet ventured to appear. He saw him at Praag, not far from Warsaw, but without any of those ceremonies which had been observed in introducing the ambassadors of the republic. He found the conqueror clad in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with gilt brass buttons, jack-boots, and buff-skin gloves that reached up to his elbows. He was in a room without hangings, attended by the duke of Holstein, count Piper his first minister, and several general officers. The king advanced a few steps to meet the cardinal; they talked together standing for about a quarter of an hour; Charles put an end to the conference, by saying aloud, "I will never give the Poles peace, till they have elected a new king." The cardinal, who expected such a declaration, caused it to be immediately notified to all the palatinates, assuring them that he was extremely sorry for it, but represented to them, at the same time, the absolute necessity they were under of complying with the conqueror's request.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the king of Poland plainly perceived that he must either lose his crown, or preserve it by a battle; and he exerted his utmost efforts in order to succeed in the decision of this important quarrel. All his Saxon troops were arrived from the frontiers of Saxony. The nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, where he still remained, came in a body to offer him their service. He exhorted them to remember the oaths they had taken; and they promised to shed the last drop of their blood in support

port of his cause. Strengthened by these succours, and by the troops which bore the name of the army of the crown, he went, for the first time, in quest of the king of Sweden; nor was he long in finding him; for that prince was already advancing towards Cracow.

The two kings met on the 13th of July 1702, in a spacious plain near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus had near four and twenty thousand men; Charles XII. had not above twelve thousand. The battle began by a general discharge of the artillery. At the first volley of the Saxons, the duke of Holstein, who commanded the Swedish cavalry, a young prince of great courage and virtue, received a cannon-ball in his reins. The king asked if he was killed, and was answered in the affirmative. He made no reply: a few tears fell from his eyes: he covered his face with his hands for a moment; and then, of a sudden, spurring on his horse with all his might, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy at the head of the guards.

The king of Poland did every thing that could be expected from a prince who fought for his crown. Thrice in person did he rally his troops, and lead them up to the charge; but the Saxons only could be said to fight for him: the Poles, who formed his right wing, fled to a man, at the very beginning of the battle; some through fear, and others thro' disaffection. The good fortune of Charles XII. carried all before it; he gained a complete victory. He took possession of the enemy's camp, their colours, and artillery; and Augustus's military-chest fell into his hands. He halted not a moment on the field of battle, but marched directly

directly to Cracow, pursuing the king of Poland, who fled before him.

The citizens of Cracow were bold enough to shut the gates upon the conqueror. He caused them to be burst open. The garrison did not venture to fire a single gun; but were driven with whips and canes into the castle, into which the king entered pell-mell with them. Charles observing an officer of the artillery going to fire a cannon, ran up to him and snatched the match out of his hand. The commander fell on his knees before him. Three Swedish regiments were lodged at free quarters among the citizens, and the town was taxed with a contribution of an hundred thousand rix-dollars. The count de Steinbock, who was appointed governor of the city, being informed that some treasures were hid in the tombs of the Polish kings, in St. Nicholas church at Cracow, caused them to be opened. Nothing was found there but some ornaments of gold and silver, belonging to the churches. Of these he took a part; and Charles XII. even sent a golden cup to one of the Swedish churches; an action that might have raised the Polish catholics against him, had any thing been able to withstand the terror of his arms.

He left Cracow with a determined resolution to pursue Augustus without intermission. At the distance of a few miles from the city, his horse fell and broke his thigh-bone. They were obliged to carry him back to Cracow, where he remained confined to his bed for six weeks, in the hands of the surgeons. This accident gave Augustus a little respite. He forthwith caused it to be spread abroad thro' Poland and Germany, that Charles XII. was killed by the fall. This report,
which

which gained credit for some time, filled the minds of all men with doubt and apprehension. During this interval, he assembled at Marienburg, and then at Lublin, all the orders of the kingdom, which had been already convoked at Sendomir. The assembly was very full, as few palatinates refused to send their deputies thither. He regained the affections of most of them by presents and promises, and by that affability without which absolute kings cannot be beloved, nor elective kings maintain themselves on the throne. The diet were soon undeceived concerning the false report of the king of Sweden's death; but that large body was already put in motion, and suffered itself to be carried along by the impulse it had received; all the members swore to continue faithful to their sovereign: so subject to change are all great companies! Even the cardinal-primate himself, who still pretended a regard for Augustus, repaired to the diet of Lublin; where he kissed the king's hand, and readily took the oath as well as the other members. The substance of the oath was, that they had never attempted, nor ever would attempt, any thing prejudicial to the interest of Augustus. The king excused the cardinal from the first part of the oath, and the prelate blushed while he swore to the last. The result of all the deliberations of this diet was, that the republic of Poland should maintain an army of fifty thousand men at their own expence, for the service of their sovereign; that they should allow the Swedes six weeks time to declare whether they were for peace or war; and the same time to the princes of Sapiaha, the original authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to come and ask pardon from the king of Poland.

In the mean time Charles XII. being cured of his wound, overturned all their deliberations. Unalterably fixt in his resolution of forcing the Poles to dethrone their king with their own hands, he caused a new assembly to be convoked at Warsaw, by the intrigues of the cardinal, in opposition to that of Lublin. His generals represented to him, that this negotiation might possibly be involved in endless delays, and by that means be rendered ineffectual; that, in the mean time, the Muscovites were every day becoming a more equal match for the troops which he had left in Livonia and Ingria; that the skirmishes which frequently happened between the Swedes and Russians in these provinces did not always turn out to the advantage of the former; and, finally, that his own presence might soon be necessary in those quarters. Charles, as steady in the prosecution of his schemes, as he was brisk and vigorous in action, replied; "Should it oblige me to remain here for fifty years, I will not depart till I have dethroned the king of Poland."

He left the assembly of Warsaw to combat that of Lublin, by their speeches and writings, and to justify their proceedings by the laws of the kingdom; laws always equivocal, which each party interpret according to their pleasure, and which success alone can render incontestable. As for himself, having reinforced his victorious troops with six thousand horse and eight thousand foot, which he had received from Sweden, he marched against the remains of the Saxon army, which he had beat at Clissa, and which had found time to rally and recruit, while his fall from his horse had confined him to his bed. This army shunned his approach, and retired towards Prussia, to the

north-west of Warsaw. The river Bug lay between him and the enemy. Charles swam across it at the head of his cavalry: the infantry went to look for a ford somewhat higher. He came up with the Saxons on the first of May 1703, at a place called Pultesk. General Stenau commanded them to the number of about ten thousand. The king of Sweden, in his precipitate march, had brought no more than the same number along with him, confident that a less number would be sufficient. So great was the terror of his arms, that one half of the Saxon troops fled at his approach, without waiting for the battle. General Stenau, with two regiments, kept his ground for a moment; but was soon hurried along in the general flight of his army, which was dispersed before it was vanquished. The Swedes did not take above a thousand prisoners, nor kill above six hundred men, having more difficulty in pursuing than in defeating the enemy.

Augustus having now nothing left him but the mangled remains of his Saxons, who were every where defeated, retired in haste to Thorn, an ancient city of Royal Prussia, situated on the Vistula, and under the protection of the Poles. Charles immediately prepared to besiege it. The king of Poland, not thinking himself secure in this place, withdrew from it, and flew into every corner of Poland, where he could possibly find any soldiers, and into which the Swedes had not as yet penetrated. Mean while Charles, amidst so many rapid marches, swimming across rivers, and hurried along with his infantry mounted behind his cavalry, had not been able to bring up his cannon to Thorn; he was therefore obliged to wait till

H

a train

a train of artillery should be brought from Sweden by sea.

While he tarried here, he fixed his quarters at the distance of a few miles from the city, in reconnoitring which he frequently approached too near the ramparts. In these dangerous excursions, the plain dress which he wore was of greater service to him than he imagined, as it prevented his being distinguished and marked out by the enemy, who would not have failed to fire upon him. One day, having advanced too near the fortifications, attended by one of his generals called Lieven, who was dressed in a blue-coat * trimmed with gold, and fearing lest the general should be too easily distinguished, he ordered him to walk behind him. To this he was prompted by that greatness of soul which was so natural to him, that it even prevented his reflecting on the imminent danger to which he exposed his own life, in order to preserve that of his subject. Lieven perceiving his error too late, in having put on a remarkable dress, which endangered all those who were near him, and being equally concerned for the king where-ever he was, hesitated for a moment whether or not he should obey him. In the midst of this contest, the king takes him by the arm, puts himself before him, and screens him with his body. At that instant, a cannon-ball taking them in flank, struck the general dead upon the very spot which the king had hardly quitted. The death of this man, killed exactly

* In the former editions we gave this officer a scarlet coat; but the chaplain Norberg hath so incontestibly proved it to have been a blue one, that we have thought proper to correct the error.

in his stead, and because he had endeavoured to save him, contributed not a little to confirm him in the opinion, which he always entertained, of absolute predestination; and made him believe that his fate, which had preserved him in such a singular manner, reserved him for the execution of greater undertakings.

Every thing succeeded with him: his negotiations and his arms were equally fortunate. He was present, as it were, in every part of Poland. His grand general Renschild was in the heart of the kingdom with a large body of troops. About thirty thousand Swedes, under different generals, were posted towards the north and east upon the frontiers of Muscovy, and withstood the united efforts of the whole Russian empire; and Charles was in the west, at the other end of Poland, with the flower of his army.

The king of Denmark, tied up by the treaty of Travendal, which his weakness had hindered him from breaking, remained quiet. That prudent monarch did not venture to discover the disgust he felt at seeing the king of Sweden so near his dominions. At a greater distance towards the south-west, between the rivers Elbe and Weser, lay the dutchy of Bremen, the most remote of all the ancient conquests of the Swedes. This country was filled with strong garrisons, and opened to the conqueror a free passage into Saxony and the empire. Thus, from the German Ocean almost to the mouth of the Boristhenes, comprehending the whole breadth of Europe, and even to the gates of Moscow, all was in consternation; and every one was daily expecting a general revolution. Charles's ships, which were now masters of the Baltick, were employed in transporting to

Sweden the prisoners he had taken in Poland. Sweden, undisturbed in the midst of these mighty commotions, enjoyed the sweets of peace, and shared in the glory of its king, without bearing the burden of the war; inasmuch as its victorious troops were paid and maintained at the expence of the conquered.

While all the northern powers were thus kept in awe by the arms of Charles XII. the town of Dantzick ventured to incur his displeasure. Fourteen frigates and forty transports were bringing the king a reinforcement of six thousand men, with cannon and ammunition, to form the siege of Thorn. These succours must necessarily pass up the Weisſel. At the mouth of this river stands Dantzick, a free and wealthy town, which, together with Thorn and Elbing, enjoys the same privileges in Poland as the imperial towns possess in Germany. Its liberty hath been alternately attacked by the Danes, the Swedes, and some German princes; and nothing hath preserved it from bondage but the mutual jealousy of these rival powers. Count Steinbock, one of the Swedish generals, assembled the magistrates in the king's name, and demanded a passage for the troops and ammunition. The magistrates were guilty of a piece of imprudence very common with those who treat with people more powerful than themselves; they durst neither refuse nor grant his demands. General Steinbock obliged them to grant more than he had at first demanded. He exacted from the city a contribution of an hundred thousand crowns, as a punishment for their imprudent refusal. At last the recruits, the cannon, and ammunition, being arrived before Thorn, the siege was begun on the 22d of September.

Robel,

Robel, governor of the place, defended it for a month with a garrison of five thousand men. At the expiration of that term he was obliged to surrender at discretion. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and transported to Sweden. Robel was presented to the king unarmed. That prince, who never lost an opportunity of honouring merit in his enemies, gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a handsome present in money, and dismissed him on his parole. But the poor and paucity town was condemned to pay forty thousand crowns; an excessive contribution for such a place.

Elbing, built on an arm of the Weiffel, founded by the Teutonic knights, and annexed likewise to Poland, did not profit by the misconduct of the Dantzickers, but hesitated too long about granting a passage to the Swedish troops. It was more severely punished than Dantzick. On the 13th of December Charles entered it at the head of four thousand men, with bayonets fixed to the ends of their muskets. The inhabitants, struck with terror, fell upon their knees in the streets, and begged for mercy. He caused them all to be disarmed; quartered his soldiers upon them; and then having assembled the magistrates, exacted that same day a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns. There were in the town two hundred pieces of cannon and four hundred thousand weight of powder, which he likewise seized. A battle gained would not have procured him so many advantages. All these successes paved the way for the dethroning of Augustus.

Hardly had the cardinal taken an oath that he would make no attempts against his sovereign, when he repaired to the assembly of Warsaw, al-

ways under the specious pretence of peace. When he arrived there he talked of nothing but obedience and concord, though he was accompanied by a number of soldiers whom he had raised on his own estate. At last he threw off the mask; and, on the 14th of February 1704, declared, in the name of the assembly, "That Augustus, elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the crown of Poland." All the members with one voice pronounced the throne to be vacant. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and consequently of the diet, to raise prince James Sobieski to the throne of king John his father. James Sobieski was then at Breslaw in Silesia, waiting with impatience for the crown which his father had worn. While he was one day a-hunting a few leagues from Breslaw, in company with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, thirty Saxon horsemen, sent privately by king Augustus, issued suddenly from a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two princes, and carried them off without resistance. They had prepared fresh horses, upon which they conducted them to Leipfick, and committed them to close custody. This stroke disconcerted the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the assembly of Warfaw.

Fortune, which sports herself with crowned heads, exposed Augustus, almost at the same time, to the danger of being taken himself. He was at table, three leagues from Cracow, relying upon an advanced guard which was posted at some distance, when, all of a sudden, general Renschild appeared, after having carried off the guard. The king of Poland had but just time to get on horseback, with ten others. General Renschild pursued him for four days, just upon the

the point of seizing him every moment. The king fled to Sendomir: the Swedish general pursued him thither; and it was only by a piece of good fortune that he made his escape.

Mean while the king's party and that of the cardinal treated each other as traitors to their country. The army of the crown was divided between the two factions. Augustus, being at last obliged to accept of assistance from the Russians, was sorry that he had not applied to them sooner. One while he flew into Saxony, where his resources were exhausted; at another he returned to Poland, where no one durst serve him; while in the mean time the king of Sweden, victorious and unmolested, ruled in Poland with uncontrouled authority.

Count Piper, who was as great a politician as his master was a hero, advised Charles XII. to take the crown of Poland to himself. He represented how easy it would be to accomplish such a scheme with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already subdued. He tempted him with the title of "Defender of the Evangelick Religion;" a name which flattered the ambition of Charles. It would be easy, he said, to effect in Poland what Gustavus Vasa had effected in Sweden; to establish the Lutheran religion, and to break the chains of the people, who were now held in slavery by the nobility and clergy. Charles yielded to the temptation for a moment; but glory was his idol. To it he sacrificed his own interest, and the pleasure he would have enjoyed in taking Poland from the pope. He told count Piper, that he was much happier in bestowing than in gaining kingdoms; and added with a smile, "You

were made to be the minister of an Italian prince."

Charles was still near Thorn, in that part of Royal Prussia which belongs to Poland. From thence he extended his views to what was passing at Warsaw, and kept all the neighbouring powers in awe. Prince Alexander, brother of the two Sobieskis who were carried into Silesia, came to implore his aid in revenging his wrongs. Charles granted his desire the more readily, as he thought he could easily gratify it, and that, at the same time, he should be avenging himself. But being extremely desirous of giving Poland a king, he advised prince Alexander to mount the throne, from which fortune seemed determined to exclude his brother. Little did he expect a refusal. Prince Alexander told him that nothing should ever induce him to make an advantage of his elder brother's misfortune. The king of Sweden, count Piper, all his friends, and especially the young palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus Leczinsky, pressed him to accept of the crown; but he remained unmoved by all their importunities. The neighbouring princes were astonished to hear of this uncommon refusal; and knew not which to admire most: a king of Sweden, who, at twenty-two years of age, gave away the crown of Poland, or prince Alexander, who refused to accept it.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
C H A R L E S X I I .
K I N G of S W E D E N .

B O O K I I I .

T H E C O N T E N T S .

STANISLAUS LECZINSKY elected King of POLAND.
Death of the Cardinal-primate. Skilful Retreat
of General SCHULLEMBURG. Exploits of the
Czar. Foundation of PETERSBURG. Battle of
FRAVENSTAD. CHARLES enters SAXONY. Peace
of ALBANSTADT. AUGUSTUS abdicates the
CROWN in Favour of STANISLAUS. General
PATKUL, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, is broke
upon the Wheel and quartered. CHARLES re-
ceives the Ambassadors of foreign Princes in
SAXONY: And goes to DRESDEN to visit Au-
gustus before his Departure.

YOUNG Stanislaus Leczinsky was then de-
puted by the assembly of Warsaw to go to
the king of Sweden and give him an account of
several differences which had arisen among them,
since the time that prince James was carried off.
Stanislaus had a very engaging aspect, full of cou-

rage and sweetness, with an air of probity and frankness, which, of all external advantages, is certainly the greatest, and gives more weight to words than even eloquence itself. Charles was surprised to hear him talk with so much judgment of Augustus, the assembly, the cardinal-primate, and the different interests that divided Europe. King Stanislaus did me the honour to inform me, that he said to the king of Sweden in Latin, "How can we elect a king, if the two princes, James and Constantine Sobieski, are held in captivity?" and that Charles replied, "How can we deliver the republic if we don't elect a king?" This conversation was the only intrigue that placed Stanislaus on the throne. Charles prolonged the conversation, on purpose that he might the better sound the genius of the young deputy. After the audience, he said aloud, that he had not seen a man so fit to reconcile all parties. He immediately made inquiry into the character of the palatine Leczinsky, and found that he was a man of great courage and inured to labour; that he always lay on a kind of straw mattress, requiring no service from his domestics; that he was temperate to a degree rarely known in that climate; liberal with oeconomy; adored by his vassals; and perhaps the only lord in Poland who had any friends, at a time when men acknowledged no ties but those of interest and faction. This character, which in many particulars resembled his own, determined him entirely. After the conference he said aloud, "There is the man that shall always be my friend." The meaning of which words was soon perceived to be, "There is the man that shall be king."

As soon as the primate of Poland understood that Charles XII. had nominated the palatine

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Leczinsky, in much the same manner as Alexander nominated Abdalonimus, he hastened to the king of Sweden, to try if possible to divert him from his resolution ; being desirous that the crown should devolve on one Lubomirsky. “ But what have you to object against Stanislaus Leczinsky ? ” said the conqueror. “ Sir, (said the primate) he is too young.” “ He is much about my age,” replied the king dryly ; and turning his back upon the prelate, immediately dispatched the count de Hoorn, to acquaint the assembly of Warsaw, that they must chuse a king in five days, and that Stanislaus Leczinsky must be the man. The count de Hoorn arrived on the 7th of July, and fixed the 12th for the day of election, with as much ease and indifference as if he had been ordering the decampment of a battalion. The cardinal-primate, disappointed of the fruit of so many intrigues, returned to the assembly, where he left no stone unturned to defeat an election in which he had no share. But the king of Sweden having come incognito to Warsaw, he was obliged to hold his peace. All that the primate could do was to absent himself from the election : unable to oppose the conqueror, and unwilling to assist him, he confined himself to an useless neutrality.

Saturday the 12th of July, the day fixed for the election, being come, the assembly met at three in the afternoon at Colo, the place appointed for the ceremony ; the bishop of Posnania acting as president, in the room of the cardinal primate. He came attended by several gentlemen of the party. The count de Hoorn and two other general officers assisted publicly at the solemnity, as ambassadors-extraordinary from Charles to the republic. The session lasted till nine in the even-

ing; and the bishop of Posen put an end to it by declaring, in name of the assembly, that Stanislaus was elected king of Poland. They all threw up their hats into the air, and the shouts of acclamation stifled the cries of the opposers. It was of no service to the cardinal-primate, or to the others who had resolved to continue neuter, that they had absented themselves from the election; they were all obliged next day to come and do homage to the new king: but the greatest mortification to which they were subjected was their being compelled to follow him to the king of Sweden's quarters. Charles paid the sovereign he had made all the honours due to a king of Poland; and, to add the greater weight to his new dignity, he furnished him with a considerable sum of money, and a sufficient number of troops.

Immediately after this, Charles XII. departed from Warsaw, in order to finish the conquest of Poland. He had ordered his army to rendezvous before Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Russia, a place important in itself, and still more so on account of the riches which it contained. It was supposed it would hold out for fifteen days, by means of the fortifications with which Augustus had strengthened it. The conqueror sat down before it on the 5th of September, and next day took it by assault. All those who presumed to make resistance were put to the sword. The victorious troops, though masters of the city, did not break their ranks to go a-pilaging, notwithstanding the immense treasures that were said to be concealed in Leopold. They drew up in order of battle in the great square; where the remaining part of the garrison came and surrendered

rendered themselves prisoners of war. The king published his orders by sound of trumpet, commanding, under pain of death, all the inhabitants, who had any effects belonging to Augustus or his adherents, to produce them before night. The measures he took were so wisely concerted, that few ventured to disobey; and accordingly four hundred chests of gold and silver coin, of plate and other valuable effects, were brought to his majesty.

The beginning of Stanislaus's reign was distinguished by an event of a very different nature. Some business, which absolutely required his presence, had obliged him to remain at Warsaw. He had with him his mother, his wife, and his two daughters. The cardinal-primate, the bishop of Posen, and some grandees of Poland, composed his new court. It was guarded by six thousand Poles, of the army of the crown, who had lately entered into his service, but whose fidelity had not yet been put to the trial. General Hoorn, governor of the town, had not above fifteen hundred Swedes. The citizens of Warsaw were in a profound tranquillity; and Stanislaus proposed setting out in a few days for the conquest of Leopold; when, all on a sudden, he was informed that a numerous army was approaching the city. This was king Augustus, who, by a fresh effort, and by one of the most dexterous marches that ever general made, had eluded the king of Sweden, and was now coming with twenty thousand men to fall upon Warsaw, and carry off his rival.

Warsaw was unfortified; the Polish troops who defended it were not to be relied on; Augustus held a correspondence with some of the citizens; so that, had Stanislaus remained in it, he must

certainly have been ruined. He sent back his family into Posnania, under a guard of Polish troops in whom he could most confide. In this confusion he thought he had lost his second daughter, who was about a year old, and who had been carried by her nurse into a neighbouring village, where she was soon after found in a manger ; as Stanislaus himself hath since informed me. This is the same child whom fortune, after a variety of the most surprising vicissitudes, at last made queen of France. Several gentlemen took different roads. The new king immediately set out for the camp of Charles XII. learning thus betimes to suffer disgrace, and forced to quit his capital six weeks after he had been advanced to the sovereignty.

Augustus entered the capital like a provoked and victorious sovereign. The inhabitants, already fleeced by the king of Sweden, were entirely ruined by Augustus. The cardinal's palace, and all the houses of the confederate lords, with all their effects both in town and country, were given to plunder. What was most extraordinary in this sudden revolution, the pope's nuncio who attended Augustus demanded in name of his master, that the bishop of Posnania should be delivered into his hands, as subject to the jurisdiction of the court of Rome, both as a bishop and as the favourer of a prince who had been advanced to the throne by the arms of a Lutheran.

The court of Rome, which hath always been endeavouring to encrease its temporal power by means of the spiritual, had, long before this, established a kind of jurisdiction in Poland, at the head of which was the pope's nuncio. Its ministers never failed to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to extend their power, which

is revered by the multitude, but always contested by men of sense. They claimed a right of judging in all ecclesiastical causes; and in times of trouble had usurped several other privileges, in which they maintained themselves till about the year 1728, when these abuses were corrected; abuses which are never reformed till they are become absolutely intolerable.

Augustus, glad of an opportunity of punishing the bishop of Posen in a decent manner, and willing to gratify the court of Rome, whose pretensions, however, he would have opposed on any other occasion, delivered the Polish prelate into the hands of the nuncio. The bishop, after having seen his house pillaged, was carried by the soldiers to the lodgings of the Italian minister, and from thence sent into Saxony, where he ended his days. Count Hoorn bore the continual fire of the enemy in the castle, where he was shut up, till at last the place being no longer tenable, he surrendered himself with his fifteen hundred Swedes. This was the first advantage which Augustus gained amidst the torrent of his bad fortune, over the victorious arms of his enemy.

This last effort was the blaze of a fire that was just going out. His troops, which had been assembled in haste, consisted either of Poles, ready to forsake him on the first disgrace, or of Saxon recruits, who had never seen a campaign; or of vagabond Cossacks, more fit to distress the conquered than to conquer: and all of them trembled at the bare mention of the king of Sweden's name.

That conqueror, accompanied by Stanislaus, went in quest of his enemy, at the head of his best troops. The Saxon army fled every where before

before him. The towns for thirty miles round sent him the keys of their gates. Not a day passed that was not distinguished by some advantage. Success began to grow too familiar to Charles. He said it was rather like hunting than fighting, and complained that he was not obliged to purchase a victory on harder terms.

Augustus gave the command of his army, for some time, to count Schullemburg, a very able general, and who had need of all his experience at the head of dispirited troops. He was more anxious to preserve his master's troops than to conquer. He acted by stratagem, and the two kings with vigour. He stole some marches upon them, took possession of some advantageous posts, sacrificed a few horse in order to give his infantry time to retire; and thus, by a glorious retreat, saved his troops in the face of an enemy, in contending with whom it was impossible, at that time, to acquire any other kind of glory.

He was scarce arrived in the palatinate of Posenania, when he learned that the two kings, who, he imagined were at the distance of fifty leagues, had marched these fifty leagues in nine hours. He had only eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse; and yet with his handful of men, he was obliged to make head against a superior army, against the name of the king of Sweden, and against that terror with which so many defeats had naturally inspired the Saxons. He had always affirmed, contrary to the opinion of the German generals, that infantry were able to resist cavalry in open field, even without the assistance of chevaux de frize, and he this day ventured to put the matter to the test of experience, against a victorious cavalry commanded by two kings, and by the

the best Swedish generals. He took possession of such an advantageous post, that he could not possibly be surrounded. The soldiers of the first rank, armed with pikes and fuses, bent one knee upon the ground, and standing very close together, presented to the enemy's horse a kind of pointed rampart with pikes and bayonets: the second rank, inclining a little on the shoulders of the first, fired over their heads; and the third, standing upright, fired at the same time, from behind the other two. The Swedes, with their usual impetuosity, rushed upon the Saxons, who waited the assault without flinching: the discharge of the muskets, and the points of the pikes and bayonets maddened the horses, and made them rear instead of advancing. By these means the attack of the Swedes was rendered disorderly; and the Saxons defended themselves by keeping their ranks.

Though he had received five wounds, he drew up his men in an oblong square, and in this form made an orderly retreat about midnight towards the small town of Gurau, three leagues distant from the field of battle. But he had hardly begun to breathe in this place, when the two kings suddenly appeared at his heels.

Beyond Gurau, towards the river Oder, lay a thick wood, by marching through which the Saxon general saved his fatigued infantry. The Swedes, who were not to be checked by such a trivial interruption, pursued them even through the wood, advancing with great difficulty through paths hardly passable by foot travellers; and the Saxons had not crossed the wood above five hours before the Swedish horse. On the other side of the wood runs the river Parts, hard by a village called

called Rutfen. Schullenburg had taken care to fend orders for having the boats in readinefs; and he now transported his troops, which were diminished by one half. Charles arrived the very moment that Schullemburg reached the oppofite bank. Never conqueror purfued his enemy with greater celerity. The reputation of Schullemburg depended upon his efcaping from the king of Sweden: the king, on the other hand, thought his glory concerned in taking Schullemburg, and the remains of his army. He loft not a moment, but immediately caufed his cavalry to crofs at a ford. And thus the Saxons found themfelves fhut up between the river of Parts, and the greater river of Oder, which takes its rife in Silefia, and at this place is very deep and rapid.

Though the deftruction of Schullemburg feemed to be inevitable, yet with the lofs of a few foldiers he paffed the Oder in the night. Thus he faved his army, and Charles could not help faying, "Schullemburg has conquered us to-day."

This is the fame Schullemburg, who was afterwards general of the Venetians, and to whom the republic erected a ftatue in Corfu, for having defended that bulwark of Italy againft the Turks. Such honours are conferred by republics only: kings give nothing but rewards.

But what contributed fo much to the glory of Schullemburg was of no fervice to king Auguftus, who once more abandoned Poland to his enemies; retired into Saxony, and inflantly repaired the fortifications of Dresden, being already afraid, and not without reafon, for the capital of his hereditary dominions.

Charles XII. now beheld Poland reduced to fubjection. His generals, after his example, had
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beat in Courland several small bodies of the Muscovites, who ever since the battle of Narva had appeared only in small companies, and made war in those parts like the vagrant Tartars, who pilage, fly, and then re-appear in order to fly again.

Wherever the Swedes came, they thought themselves sure of victory, when they were only twenty to an hundred. At this happy conjuncture, Stanislaus prepared for his coronation. Fortune to which he owed his election at Warsaw, and his expulsion from thence, now recalled him thither, amidst the acclamations of a numerous nobility, attached to him by the fate of war. A diet was immediately convoked, where all obstacles were removed, except such as were raised by the court of Rome, which alone endeavoured to traverse the project.

It was natural for Rome to declare in favour of Augustus, who from a protestant had become a catholic, in order to mount the throne of Poland, and to oppose Stanislaus, who had been placed upon the same throne by the great enemy of the catholic religion. Clement XI. the then pope, sent briefs to all the prelates of Poland, and particularly to the cardinal-primate, threatening them with excommunication, if they presumed to assist at the consecration of Stanislaus, or attempt any thing against the rights of Augustus.

Should these briefs be delivered to the bishops, who were at Warsaw, it was believed that some of them would be weak enough to obey them; and that the majority would avail themselves of this pretext to become more troublesome in proportion as they were more necessary. Every possible precaution was therefore taken to prevent these
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letters of the pope from being admitted into Warsaw. But a Franciscan received the briefs secretly, promising to deliver them into the bishops own hands. He presently gave one to the suffragan of Chelm. This prelate, who was strongly attached to Stanislaus, carried it to the king unopened. The king sent for the monk, and asked him how he durst undertake to deliver a writing of that nature. The Franciscan answered, that he did it by order of his general. Stanislaus desired him for the future to pay a greater regard to the orders of his king than to those of the general of the Franciscans, and forthwith banished him the city.

The same day a placart was published by the king of Sweden, forbidding, under the most severe penalties, all the ecclesiastics in Warsaw, both secular and regular, to interfere in affairs of state. And for the greater security, he caused guards to be placed at the gates of all the prelates, and forbade any stranger to enter the city. These little severities he took upon himself, in order to prevent any rupture between the clergy and Stanislaus, at his accession to the throne. He said he relaxed himself from the fatigues of war, in giving a check to the intrigues of the Romish court; and that he must fight against it with paper, whereas he was obliged to attack other sovereigns with real arms.

The cardinal-primate was solicited by Charles and Stanislaus to come and perform the ceremony of the coronation. He did not think himself obliged to leave Dantzick, and to consecrate a king who had been chosen against his will. But as it was his maxim never to do any thing without a pretext, he resolved to provide a lawful excuse for

for his refusal. He caused the pope's brief to be fixed in the night time to the gate of his own house. The magistrates of Dantzick took fire at this indignity, and caused strict search to be made for the authors, who nevertheless could not be found. The primate affected to be highly incensed, but in reality was very well pleased, as it furnished him with a reason for refusing to consecrate the new king; and thus at one and the same time he kept fair with Charles XII. Augustus, Stanislaus, and the pope. He died a few days after, leaving his country involved in confusion, and having reaped no other fruit from all his intrigues, but that of embroiling himself with the three kings, Charles, Augustus, and Stanislaus; and with the republic and the pope, who had ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his conduct. But as even politicians are sometimes touched with remorse in their last moments, he wrote to king Augustus on his death-bed, and begged his pardon.

The consecration was performed with equal tranquillity and magnificence, on the fourth of October 1705, in the city of Warsaw, notwithstanding the usual custom of the Poles, of crowning their kings at Cracow. Stanislaus Leczinsky and his wife Charlotta Opalinska, were consecrated king and queen of Poland, by the hands of the archbishop of Leopold, assisted by several other prelates. Charles XII. saw the ceremony incognito, the only advantage he reaped from his conquests.

While he was thus giving a king to the conquered Poles, and Denmark durst not presume to create him any disturbances; while the king of Prussia courted his friendship, and Augustus was

retired to his hereditary dominions, the czar was every day becoming more and more formidable. Though he had given but little assistance to Augustus in Poland, he had nevertheless made powerful diversions in Ingria.

He now began to grow not only a good soldier himself, but likewise instructed his subjects in the art of war. Discipline was established among his troops. He had good engineers, and well served artillery, and several good officers; and he understood the great secret of subsisting his armies. Some of his generals had learned both how to fight, and as occasion required, to decline fighting; and he had besides formed a respectable navy, capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltick.

Strengthened by all these advantages, which were entirely owing to his own genius, and by the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by assault, on the twenty-first of August 1704, after a regular siege, during which he had prevented its receiving any succours either by sea or land. The soldiers were no sooner masters of the city than they ran to pillage, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to stop the disorder and carnage. He snatched the women from the hands of the soldiers, who, after having ravished them, were going to cut their throats. He was even obliged to kill some Muscovites who did not obey his orders. They still shew you, in the town house of Narva, the table upon which he laid his sword as he entered, and repeat the words which he spoke to the citizens, who were there assembled. "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants that this sword is stained, but with that of
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the Muscovites, which I have shed to save your lives."

Had the czar always observed these humane maxims, he would have been the greatest man in the world. He aspired to a nobler character than that of a destroyer of towns. He was, at that time, laying the foundation of a city not far from Narva, in the middle of his new conquests. This was the city of Petersburg, which he afterwards made the place of his residence, and the center of his trade. It is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the gulph of Finland. With his own hands he drew the plan of the city, the fortress, and the harbour, the keys which embellished it, and the forts which defended its entrance. This desert and uncultivated island, which during the short summer in those climates, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entry by land but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and which had hitherto been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled in 1703, with above three hundred thousand men, whom the czar had brought thither from his other dominions. The peasants of the kingdom of Astracan, and those who inhabit the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to clear forests, to make roads, to drain marshes, and to raise banks, before he could lay the foundation of the city. The whole was a force put upon nature. The czar was determined to people a country, which did not seem designed for the habitation of men. Neither the inundation which razed his works, nor the sterility of the soil, nor the ignorance of the workmen,

men, nor even the mortality which carried off about two hundred thousand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his firm resolution. The town was founded amidst the obstacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unsuccessful war, conspired to raise against it. Petersburg was become a city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ships. The emperor, by a proper distribution of favours, drew many strangers thither, bestowing lands upon some, houses upon others, and encouraging all the artists that came to civilize this barbarous climate. Above all, he had rendered it proof against the utmost efforts of his enemies. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, were never able to hurt his infant colony. It enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midst of the war, with which it was surrounded.

While the czar was thus creating, as it were, new dominions to himself, he still held out a helping hand to Augustus, who was losing his. He persuaded him, by means of general Patkul, who had lately entered into the service of Muscovy, and was then the czar's ambassador in Saxony, to come to Grodno to confer with him once more on the unhappy situation of his affairs. Thither Augustus repaired with some troops, and accompanied by general Schullemburg, who was now become famous over all the north for his passage cross the Oder, and in whom the king reposed his last hopes. The czar arrived at the same place, followed by an army of seventy thousand men. The two monarchs concerted new measures for carrying on the war. Augustus being now dethroned, was no longer afraid

of provoking the Poles, by abandoning their country to the Muscovite troops. It was resolved that the army of the czar should be divided into several bodies, to check the progress of the king of Sweden at every step. It was at this time that Augustus renewed the order of the white eagle, a weak expedient for attaching to his interest some Polish lords, who were more desirous of real advantages than of an empty honour, which becomes ridiculous when it is held of a prince possessed of nothing but the name of king. The conference of the two kings ended in a very extraordinary manner. The czar departed suddenly, left his troops to his ally, and went to extinguish a rebellion with which he was threatened in Astracan. Immediately after his departure, Augustus ordered Patkul to be arrested at Dresden. All Europe was surprised at his conduct, in pursuing, contrary to the law of nations, and even in appearance to his own interest, to imprison the ambassador of the only prince from whom he could expect any assistance.

The secret spring of this transaction, as I had the honour to be informed from marshal Saxe, son to king Augustus, was as follows: Patkul, proscribed in Sweden for having defended the privileges of Livonia, his native country, had been general to Augustus; but his high and lofty spirit being unable to brook the haughty behaviour of general Fleming, the king's favourite, more imperious and lofty than himself, he had passed into the service of the czar, whose general he then was, and his ambassador at the court of Augustus. Endowed, as he was, with a penetrating genius, he had observed that Fleming and the chancellor of Saxony intended to purchase a

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peace

peace from the king of Sweden at any price. He forthwith formed a design to prevent them, and to effect an accommodation between the czar and Sweden. The chancellor discovered his project, and obtained leave to seize him. Augustus told the czar that Patkul was a perfidious wretch, and would betray them both. And yet he was no further culpable than in having served his new master too well; but an ill-timed piece of service frequently meets with the punishment due to treason.

Mean while, the sixty thousand Russians, divided into several small bodies, were burning and ravaging the lands of Stanislaus' adherents, on one side; and on the other, Schullemburg was advancing with fresh troops. The fortune of the Swedes dispersed these two armies in less than two months. Charles XII. and Stanislaus attacked the separate bodies of the Muscovites, one after another, and with so much vigour and dispatch, that one Muscovite general was beat before he heard of the defeat of his companion.

Nothing could stop the progress of the conqueror. If a river intervened between him and the enemy, Charles XII. and his Swedes swam across it. A party of Swedes took the baggage of Augustus, in which were found two hundred thousand crowns of silver. Stanislaus seized eight hundred thousand ducats belonging to prince Menzikoff, the Russian general. Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in four and twenty hours; every soldier leading a horse in his hand to mount when his own was weary. The Muscovites, struck with terror, and reduced to a small number, fled in disorder beyond the Boristhenes.

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While Charles was driving the Muscovites before him into the heart of Lithuania, Schullemburg at last repassed the Oder, and came at the head of twenty thousand men to give battle to the grand marshal, Renschild, who was reckoned the best general that Charles had, and was called the Parmenio of this Alexander of the North. These two illustrious generals, who seemed to share the fate of their masters, met near Punitz, in a place called Travenstad, a spot already fatal to the troops of Augustus. Renschild had only thirteen battalions, and two and twenty squadrons, amounting in all to about ten thousand men. Schullemburg had double that number. It is worthy of remark, that there was in his army a body of six or seven thousand Muscovites, who had been long disciplined, and were esteemed good soldiers. The battle of Travenstad was fought on the twelfth of February 1706. But this very general Schullemburg, who, with four and twenty thousand men, had, in some measure, baffled the good fortune of the king of Sweden, sunk under that of general Renschild. The combat did not last a quarter of an hour; the Saxons made no resistance; the Muscovites threw down their arms the moment they saw the Swedes. The panic was so sudden, and the confusion so great, that the conquerors found on the field of battle seven thousand loaded fuses, which the enemy had thrown away without firing. No defeat was ever more sudden, more complete, or more disgraceful; and yet no general ever made a finer disposition of his troops than Schullemburg, even by the confession of the Saxon and Swedish generals themselves, who this day saw how little human prudence is able to command events.

Among the prisoners there was an entire regiment of Frenchmen. These unhappy men had been taken by the Saxons in 1704, at the famous battle of Hochster, so fatal to the grandeur of Lewis XIV. They had afterwards passed into the service of Augustus, who had formed them into a regiment of dragoons, the command of which he had given to a Frenchman of the family of Joyeuse. The colonel was killed at the first, or rather the only charge of the Swedes; and the whole regiment were made prisoners of war. That very day the French begged to be admitted into the service of Charles XII. into which they were accordingly received by a strange caprice of fortune, which reserved them once more to change their master and their conqueror.

With regard to the Muscovites, they begged their lives on their knees; but the Swedes cruelly put them to death above six hours after the battle, in order to revenge on them the outrages which their countrymen had committed, and to rid their hands of those prisoners whom they did not know how to dispose of.

Augustus now saw himself deprived of all resources. He had nothing left but Cracow, where he was shut up with two regiments of Muscovites, two of Saxons, and some troops of the army of the crown, by whom he was even afraid of being delivered up to the conqueror: but his misfortunes were completed when he heard that Charles XII. had at last entered Saxony, on the first of September 1706.

He had marched through Silesia, without so much as deigning to apprise the court of Vienna of his motions. Germany was struck with consternation. The diet of Ratisbon, which represents the

the empire, and whose resolutions are frequently as ineffectual as they are solemn, declared the king of Sweden an enemy of the empire, if he should pass the Oder with his army: a step which only determined him to march the sooner into Germany.

At his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants fled on all sides. Charles behaved in the same manner as he had done at Copenhagen: he caused a declaration to be fixed up in all public places, importing, That his only intention in coming was to procure peace; that all those who should return home and pay the contributions he demanded, should be treated as his own subjects, and the rest punished without mercy. This declaration from a prince who was never known to break his word, made all those who had fled for fear, to return home. He pitched his camp at Altranstad, near the plain of Lutzen, a field famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. He went to see the place where that great man fell. When he reached the spot, "I have endeavoured (said he) to live like him; God, perhaps, will one day grant me as glorious a death."

From this camp, he sent orders to the states of Saxony to assemble, and to transmit to him, without delay, the registers of the electoral finances. As soon as he had got them in his power, and was exactly informed how much Saxony could supply, he taxed it at six hundred twenty five thousand rix-dollars a-month. Over and above this contribution, the Saxons were obliged to furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of flesh, two pounds of bread, two pots of beer, and four pence a-day, with forage for the horse. The contributions

tributions being thus regulated, the king established a new police, to protect the Saxons from the insults of his soldiers. In all the towns where he placed garrisons, he ordered the inn-keepers, in whose houses the soldiers were quartered, to deliver every month certificates of their behaviour, without which the soldiers were to have no pay. Besides, inspectors were appointed, who, once in every fifteen days, went from house to house to make inquiry whether the Swedes had committed any outrage; in which case, care was taken to indemnify the inn-keepers, and to punish the delinquents.

It is well known under what severe discipline the troops of Charles XII. were kept; that they never plundered the towns which they took by assault till they had received permission; and that they even plundered in a regular manner, and left off at the first signal. The Swedes pique themselves to this day on the strict discipline which they observed in Saxony; and yet the Saxons complain of the terrible ravages they committed; contradictions which it would be impossible to reconcile, did not we know in what very different lights the same objects appear to different men. It could hardly happen but that the conquerors must have sometimes abused their rights; and the conquered have taken the slightest injuries for the most enormous outrages. One day, as the king was taking the air on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Leipzick, a Saxon peasant threw himself at his feet, begging he would do him justice on a grenadier, who had just taken from him what was designed for his family's dinner. The king ordered the soldier to be brought before him; "And is it true, (says he with a stern countenance)

nance) that you have robbed this man?" "Sir, (says the soldier) I have not done him so much harm as you have done to his master: you have taken a kingdom from him, and I have only taken a turkey from this fellow." The king gave the peasant ten ducats with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of the reply; adding, "Remember, friend, that, if I have taken a kingdom from Augustus, I have kept nothing to myself."

The great fair of Leipstick was held as usual. The merchants came thither in perfect security. Not one Swedish soldier was to be seen in the fair. One would have said that the army of the king of Sweden was in Saxony for no other reason than to watch over the safety of the country. He commanded throughout all the electorate with a power as absolute, and a tranquillity as profound, as if he had been in Stockholm.

Augustus wandering up and down Poland, and deprived at once of his kingdom and electorate, at last wrote a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. in which he humbly sued for peace. This letter he sent secretly by baron d'Imhoff and Mr. Fingsten referendary of the privy council, to which two gentlemen he gave full power, and a blank signed: "Go, (says he to them) endeavour to procure me reasonable and christian conditions." He was obliged, however, to conceal these overtures, and to decline the mediation of any prince; for, being then in Poland, at the mercy of the Muscovites, he had reason to fear that that dangerous ally, whom he was now going to abandon, would punish him for his submission to the conqueror. His two plenipotentiaries came to Charles's camp in the night-time, and had a private audience.

dience. The king having read the letter, told them they should have his answer in a moment; and accordingly retiring to his closet, he wrote as follows:

“ I consent to give peace on the following conditions, in which it must not be expected that ever I will make the least alteration.

I. That Augustus renounce the crown of Poland for ever; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king; and that he promise never to remount the throne, not even after the death of Stanislaus.

II. That he renounce all other treaties, and particularly those he hath made with Muscovy.

III. That he send back to my camp, in an honourable manner, the princes Sobieski, and all the prisoners he hath taken.

IV. That he deliver into my hands all the deserters that have entered into his service, and particularly John Patkul; and that he stop all proceedings against such as have passed from his service into mine.”

This paper he gave to count Piper, with orders to transact the rest with the plenipotentiaries of Augustus. These gentlemen were shocked at the cruelty of the proposals; and used all the little arts that men without power can employ, to soften, if possible, the rigour of the king of Sweden. They had several conferences with count Piper; but that minister answered all their arguments with this short reply; “ Such is the will of the king my master, and he never alters his resolution.”

While these negotiations were carrying on in Saxony, fortune seemed to put Augustus in a condition to obtain more honourable terms, and of treating

treating with his conqueror on a more equal footing.

Prince Menzikoff, generalissimo of the Muscovite army, brought into Poland a body of thirty thousand men, at a time when Augustus not only did not desire their assistance, but even feared it. He had with him some Polish and Saxon troops, making in all about six thousand men. Surrounded with this small body by the army of prince Menzikoff, he had every thing to fear, in case the negociation should be discovered. He saw himself at once dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being arrested by his ally. In this delicate conjuncture, one of the Swedish generals, named Meyerfeld, at the head of ten thousand men, appeared at Calish, near the palatinate of Posenia. Prince Menzikoff pressed Augustus to give them battle. The king, who was greatly embarrassed, delayed the engagement under various pretexts; for though the enemy had but one third of his number, there were four thousand Swedes in Meyerfeld's army, and that alone was sufficient to render the event doubtful. To give battle to the Swedes during the negociation, and to lose it, was, in effect, to deepen the abyss in which he was already plunged. He therefore resolved to send a trusty servant to the general of the enemy, to give him some distant hints with regard to the peace, and advise him to retreat. But this advice produced an effect quite contrary to what he expected. General Meyerfeld thought they were laying a snare to intimidate him; and for that reason resolved to hazard a battle.

The Russians, now for the first time, conquered the Swedes in a pitched battle. This victory, which Augustus gained almost against his will,

was entire and complete. In the midst of his bad fortune, he entered triumphant into Warsaw, formerly his flourishing capital, but then a dismantled and ruined town, ready to receive any conqueror, and to acknowledge the strongest for king. He was tempted to seize upon this moment of prosperity, to go and attack the king of Sweden in Saxony with the Muscovite army. But when he reflected that Charles XII. was at the head of a Swedish army, hitherto invincible; that the Russians would abandon him on the first intelligence of the treaty he had begun; that his Saxon dominions, already drained of men and money, would be equally ravaged by the Swedes and Muscovites; that the empire, engaged in a war with France, could afford him no assistance; and that, in the end, he should be left without dominions, money, or friends; he thought it most adviseable to comply with the terms which the king of Sweden should impose. These terms became still more hard when Charles heard that Augustus had attacked his troops during the negotiation. His resentment, and the pleasure of further humbling an enemy who had just vanquished his forces, made him inflexible upon all the articles of the treaty. Thus the victory of Augustus served only to render his situation the more miserable; a thing which perhaps never happened to any but himself.

He had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Warsaw, when Fingsten, one of his plenipotentiaries, arrived from Saxony with the treaty of peace which deprived him of his crown. Augustus hesitated for a little, but at last signed it; and then set out for Saxony, vainly hoping that his presence would soften the king of Sweden, and that
his

his enemy would perhaps remember the ancient alliances of their families, and the common blood that ran in both their veins.

These two princes met for the first time in count Piper's tent, at a place called Gutersdorff, without any ceremony. Charles XII. was in jack-boots, with a piece of black taffety tied round his neck instead of a cravat: his cloaths, as usual, were of coarse blue cloath, with gilt brass buttons. He had a long sword by his side, which had served him in the battle of Narva, and upon the pommel of which he frequently leaned. The conversation turned wholly upon these jack-boots; Charles XII. told Augustus that he had not laid them aside for these six years past, except when he went to bed. These trifles were the only subject of discourse between two kings, one of whom had deprived the other of a crown. Augustus, especially, spoke with an air of complaisance and satisfaction, which princes, and men accustomed to the management of great affairs, know how to assume amidst the most cruel mortifications. The two kings dined together two several times. Charles XII. always affected to give Augustus the right hand; but, far from mitigating the rigour of his demands, he rendered them still more severe. It was certainly a very mortifying thing, for a sovereign to be forced to deliver up a general officer and a public minister. It was still a greater debasement to be obliged to send the jewels and archives of the crown to his successor Stanislaus. But what completed his degradation was his being at last compelled to congratulate, on his accession to the throne, the man who was going to usurp his place. Charles required Augustus to write a letter to Stanislaus. The dethroned king endeavoured to evade

the demand; but Charles insisted upon his writing the letter, and he was at last obliged to comply. Here follows an exact copy of it, which I have seen. It is transcribed from the original, which is still in the possession of king Stanislaus.

“ SIR and BROTHER,

“ We little imagined it would have been necessary to enter into a literary correspondence with your majesty; nevertheless, in order to please his Swedish majesty, and to avoid the suspicion of our being unwilling to gratify his desire, we hereby congratulate you on your accession to the throne; and wish you may find in your native country more faithful subjects than we have left there. All the world will do us the justice to believe, that we have received nothing but the most ungrateful returns for our good offices, and that the greater part of our subjects seemed to have no other aim than to hasten our ruin. Wishing that you may never be exposed to the like misfortunes, we commit you to the protection of God.

Dresden, April Your brother and neighbour,
8, 1707. AUGUSTUS, King.

Augustus was obliged to give orders to all his magistrates no longer to stile him king of Poland, and to erase this title, which he now renounced, out of the public prayers. He was less averse to the releasing of the Sobieskies; but the sacrifice of Patkul was the severest of all. The czar, on the one hand, loudly demanded him back as his ambassador; and on the other, the king of Sweden, with the most terrible menaces in case of a refusal, insisted that he should be delivered

livered up to him. Patkul was then confined in the castle of Konigstein, in Saxony. Augustus thought he might easily gratify Charles XII. and save his own honour. He sent his guards to deliver this unhappy man to the Swedish troops; but he previously dispatched a secret order to the governor of Konigstein, to let his prisoner escape. The bad fortune of Patkul defeated the pains that were taken to save him. The governor, knowing that Patkul was very rich, had a mind to make him purchase his liberty. The prisoner still relying on the law of nations, and informed of the intentions of Augustus, refused to pay for that which he thought he had a title to obtain for nothing. During this interval, the guards who were commissioned to seize the prisoner arrived, and immediately delivered him to four Swedish captains, who carried him forthwith to the general quarters at Altranstad, where he remained for three months tied to a stake, with a heavy iron chain; and from thence was conducted to Casmir.

Charles XII. forgetting that Patkul was the czar's ambassador, and considering him only as his own subject, ordered a council of war to try him with the utmost rigour. He was condemned to be broke alive, and quartered. A chaplain having come to inform him of the fatal sentence, without acquainting him with the manner in which it was to be executed, Patkul, who had braved death in so many battles, finding himself shut up with a priest, and his courage being no longer supported by glory or passion, the only sources of human intrepidity, poured out a flood of tears into the chaplain's bosom. He was affianced to a Saxon lady, called Madam d'Einsiedel, a woman

man of birth, of merit, and of beauty, and whom he intended to have married much about the time that he was now condemned to die. He intreated the chaplain to wait upon her, to give her all the consolation he could, and to assure her that he died full of the most tender affection for his incomparable mistress. When he was brought to the place of punishment, and beheld the wheels and stakes prepared for his execution, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself into the arms of the minister, who embraced him, covered him with his cloak, and wept over him. Then a Swedish officer read aloud a paper to the following effect :

“ This is to declare, that it is the express order of his majesty, our most merciful lord, that this man, who is a traitor to his country, be broke upon the wheel, and quartered, in order to atone for his crimes, and to be an example to others; that every one may beware of treason, and faithfully serve his king.” At the words “ most merciful prince,” Parkul cried out, “ What mercy ?” and at those of “ traitor to his country,” “ Alas ! (said he) I have served it but too well.” He received sixteen blows, and suffered the longest and most excruciating tortures that can be imagined. Thus died the unfortunate John Reinold Parkul, ambassador and general of the emperor of Russia.

Those that looked upon him only as a rebel, said that he deserved death ; but those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province that had privileges to defend, and remembered that he had been banished from Livonia for no other reason than his having defended those privileges, called him a martyr to the liberty of his country.

But all agreed that the title of ambassador to the czar ought to have rendered his person sacred. The king of Sweden alone, brought up in the principles of arbitrary power, thought that he had only performed an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty.

His mangled limbs remained exposed upon gibbets till 1713, when Augustus having regained his throne, caused these testimonies of the necessity to which he was reduced at Altranstad to be gathered together. They were brought to Warsaw in a box, and delivered to him in presence of the French envoy. The king of Poland shewing the box to this minister, only said, "These are the limbs of Patkul;" without adding any thing, either to blame his conduct or to bewail his memory, and without any one daring to speak on so delicate and mournful a subject.

About this time, a Livonian called Paikel, an officer in the Saxon troops, who had been taken prisoner in the field, was condemned at Stockholm by a decree of the senate; but his sentence was only to lose his head. This difference of punishments in the same case, made it but too plain, that Charles, in putting Patkul to such a cruel death, was more anxious to avenge himself than to punish the criminal. Be that as it will, Paikel, after his condemnation, proposed to the senate to impart to the king the secret of making gold, on condition that he should obtain his pardon. He made the experiment in prison, in presence of colonel Hamilton and the magistrates of the town; and whether he had actually discovered some useful secret, or, which is more probable, had only acquired the art of deceiving with a plausible air, they carried the gold which was found

in the crucible to the mint at Stockholm, and gave the senate such a full, and seemingly such an important account of the matter, that the queen-dowager, Charles's grandmother, ordered the execution to be suspended till the king should be informed of this uncommon affair, and should send his orders accordingly.

The king made answer, "That he had refused the pardon of the criminal to the entreaties of his friends, and that he would never grant to interest what he had denied to friendship." This inflexibility had something in it very heroical in a prince, especially as he thought the secret practicable. Augustus, upon hearing this story, said, "I am not surprised at the king of Sweden's indifference about the philosopher's stone: he has found it in Saxony."

When the czar was informed of the strange peace which Augustus had, notwithstanding their former treaties, concluded at Altranstad; and that Patkul, his ambassador-plenipotentiary, was delivered up to the king of Sweden, in contempt of the law of nations, he loudly complained of these indignities to the courts of Europe. He wrote to the emperor of Germany, to the queen of England, and to the states-general of the United Provinces. He gave the terms of cowardice and treachery to the sad necessity to which Augustus had been obliged to submit. He conjured all these powers to interpose their mediation to procure the restoration of his ambassador, and to prevent the affront, which, in his person, was going to be offered to all crowned heads. He pressed them, by the motive of honour, not to demean themselves so far as to become guarantees of the treaty of Altranstad; a concession which Charles XII. meant

to extort from them by his threatening and imperious behaviour. These letters had no other effect than to set the power of the king of Sweden in a stronger light. The emperor, England, and Holland, were then engaged in a destructive war against France, and thought it a very unseasonable juncture to exasperate Charles XII. by refusing the vain ceremony of being guarantees to a treaty. With regard to the unhappy Patkul, there was not a single power that interposed its good offices in his behalf; from whence it appears what little confidence a subject ought to put in princes, and how much all the European powers at that time stood in awe of the king of Sweden.

It was proposed in the czar's council to retaliate on the Swedish officers who were prisoners at Moscow; but the czar would not consent to a barbarity which would have been attended with fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovites prisoners in Sweden, than Swedes in Muscovy.

He resolved to take a more advantageous revenge. The main body of his enemy's army lay idle in Saxony. Levenhaupt, the king of Sweden's general, who was left in Poland with about twenty thousand men, was not able to guard the passes into a country without forts, and full of factions. Stanislaus was in the camp of Charles XII. The emperor of Muscovy seizes this opportunity, and re-enters Poland with above 60,000 men. These he divides into several bodies, and marches with a flying camp to Leopold, where there was no Swedish garrison. All the towns of Poland yield to any one who appears before their gates at the head of an army. He caused an assembly to be convoked at Leopold, of much the
same

same nature with that which had dethroned Augustus at Warsaw.

At that time Poland had two primates, as well as two kings, the one nominated by Augustus, the other by Stanislaus. The primate nominated by Augustus summoned the assembly of Leopold, to which resorted all those whom that prince had abandoned by the peace of Altranstad, and such as were gained by the czar's money. Here it was proposed to elect a new sovereign; so that Poland was almost upon the point of having three kings at once, without being able to say which was the real one.

During the conferences at Leopold, the czar, whose interest was closely connected with that of the emperor of Germany, on account of the common dread which they both entertained of the power of the king of Sweden, secretly obtained from him a number of German officers; who daily arriving, encreased his strength in a considerable degree, by bringing along with them discipline and experience. These he engaged in his service by several instances of liberality; and the more to encourage his own troops, he gave his picture set round with diamonds to all the general officers and colonels who had fought at the battle of Calish: the subaltern officers had medals of gold, and every private soldier a medal of silver. These monuments of the victory at Calish were all struck in the new city of Petersburg; where the improvement of the arts kept pace with the desire of glory and spirit of emulation which the czar had infused into his troops.

The confusion, the multiplicity of factions, and the continual ravages prevailing in Poland, hindered the diet of Leopold from coming to any resolution.

solution. The czar transferred it to Lublin; but the change of place did not lessen the disorder and perplexity in which the whole nation was involved. The assembly contented themselves with declaring that they neither acknowledged Augustus who had abdicated the throne, nor Stanislaus who had been elected against their will; but they were neither sufficiently united, nor had resolution enough to nominate another king. During these fruitless deliberations, the party of the princes Sapieha, that of Oginsky, those who secretly adhered to Augustus, and the new subjects of Stanislaus, all made war upon one another, and by pillaging each other's estates, completed the ruin of their country. The Swedish troops, commanded by Levenhaupt, one part of which lay in Livonia, another in Lithuania, and a third in Poland, were daily in pursuit of the Russians, and set fire to every thing that opposed Stanislaus. The Russians ruined their friends and foes without distinction; and nothing was to be seen but towns reduced to ashes, and wandering troops of Poles, deprived of all their substance, and detesting alike their two kings, the czar, and Charles XII.

To quell these commotions, and to secure the possession of the throne, Stanislaus set out from Altranstad on the fifteenth of July, 1707, accompanied by general Renschild, and sixteen Swedish regiments, and furnished with a large sum of money. He was acknowledged wherever he came. The strict discipline of his troops, which made the barbarity of the Muscovites to be more sensibly felt, conciliated the affections of the people. His extreme affability, in proportion as it was better known, reconciled to him almost all the different factions; and his money procured him
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the greatest part of the army of the crown. The czar, apprehensive of wanting provisions, in a country which his troops had laid waste, retired into Lithuania, where he had fixed the general rendezvous of his army, and where he resolved to establish magazines. This retreat left Stanislaus the undisturbed sovereign of the greatest part of Poland.

The only person that gave him any uneasiness, was count Sincausky, grand general of the crown, by the nomination of Augustus. This man, who was possessed of no contemptible talents, and entertained the most ambitious views, was at the head of a third party. He neither acknowledged Augustus nor Stanislaus; and after having used his utmost efforts in order to procure his own election, he contented himself with being the head of a party, since he could not be king. The troops of the crown, which continued under his command, had no other pay but the liberty of pillaging their fellow subjects with impunity. And all those who had either suffered, or were apprehensive of suffering, from the rapacity of these free booters, soon submitted to Stanislaus, whose power was gathering strength every day.

The king of Sweden was then receiving, in his camp at Altranstad, ambassadors from almost all the princes in Christendom. Some entreated him to quit the empire, others desired him to turn his arms against the emperor; and it was then the general report, that he intended to join with France, in humbling the house of Austria. Among these ambassadors was the famous John duke of Marlborough, sent by Anne, queen of Great Britain. This man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle which

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he did not gain, was at St. James's a perfect courtier, in parliament the head of a party, and in foreign countries the most able negociator of his time. He did France as much mischief by his politics as by his arms. Mr. Fagel, secretary of the states general, and a man of great merit, has been heard to say, that when the states general had more than once resolved to oppose the schemes which the duke was about to lay before them, the duke came, spoke to them in French, a language in which he expressed himself but very indifferently, and brought them all over to his opinion. This account I had from lord Bolingbroke.

In conjunction with prince Eugene, the companion of his victories, and Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, he supported the whole weight of the war which the allies waged against France. He knew that Charles was incensed against the empire and the emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the French; and that if this conqueror should espouse the cause of Lewis XIV. the allies must be entirely ruined,

True it is, Charles had given his word in 1700, that he would not intermeddle in the quarrel between Lewis XIV. and the allies; but the duke of Marlborough could not believe that any prince would be so great a slave to his word as not to sacrifice it to his grandeur and interest. He therefore set out from the Hague with a resolution to sound the intentions of the king of Sweden. Mr. Fabricius, who then attended upon Charles XII. assured me, that the duke of Marlborough, on his arrival, applied secretly, not to count Piper, the prime minister, but to baron de Görtz, who now began to share with Piper the confidence of the king. He even went to the quarters of
Charles

Charles XII. in the coach of this gentleman *, between whom and the chancellor Piper, together with Robinson, the English minister, he spoke to the king in French. He told him that he should esteem it a singular happiness, could he have an opportunity of learning under his command such parts of the art of war as he did not yet understand. To this polite compliment the king made no return, and seemed to forget that it was Marlborough who was speaking to him. He even thought, as I have been credibly informed, that the dress of this great man was too fine and costly; and that his air had in it too little of a soldier. The conversation was tedious and general. Charles XII. speaking in the Swedish tongue, and Robinson serving as an interpreter. Marlborough, who was never in a haste to make proposals; and who, by a long course of experience, had learned the art of diving into the real characters of men, and discovering the connection between their most secret thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, regarded the king with the utmost attention. When he spoke to him of war in general, he thought he perceived in his majesty a natural aversion to France; and remarked that he talked with pleasure of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the czar to him, and observed that his eyes always kindled at

* When the duke arrived at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was told the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. Then the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, went aside to the wall, where having staid a few minutes, he returned and accosted Piper with the most polite address.

the name, notwithstanding the calmness of the conversation. Besides, he saw a map of Muscovy lying before him upon the table. He wanted no more to convince him, that the real design and the sole ambition of the king of Sweden was to dethrone the czar, as he had already done the king of Poland. He was sensible that, if Charles remained in Saxony, it was only to impose some hard conditions on the emperor of Germany. He knew the emperor would make no resistance, and that thus all disputes would be easily accommodated. He left Charles XII. to follow the bent of his own mind; and satisfied with having discovered his intentions, he made him no proposals. These particulars I had from the dutchess of Marlborough, his widow, who is still alive*.

As few negotiations are finished without money, and as ministers are sometimes seen to sell the hatred or favour of their masters, it was the general opinion throughout all Europe, that the duke of Marlborough would not have succeeded so well with the king of Sweden, had he not made a handsome present to count Piper, whose memory still labours under the imputation. For my own part, after having traced this report to its source, with all the care and accuracy of which I am master, I have found that Piper received a small present from the emperor, by the hands of the count de Wratisslau, with the consent of his master, and not a farthing from the duke of Marlborough. Certain it is, Charles was so firmly resolved to dethrone the emperor of Russia, that

* The author wrote in 1727, since which time, as appears from other dates, the work hath undergone several corrections.

he asked no body's advice on that subject, nor needed the instigation of count Piper to prompt him to wreak his long meditated vengeance on the head of Peter Alexiowitz.

But what vindicates the character of that minister beyond all probability and cavil was the honour which, long after this period, was paid to his memory by Charles XII. who having heard that Piper was dead in Russia, caused his corps to be transported to Stockholm, and gave him a magnificent funeral at his own expence.

The king, who had not as yet experienced any reverse of fortune, nor even met with any interruption in his victories, thought one year would be sufficient for dethroning the czar; after which, he imagined he might return in peace and erect himself into the arbiter of Europe. But, first of all, he resolved to humble the emperor of Germany.

The baron de Stralheim, the Swedish envoy at Vienna, had had a quarrel at a public entertainment, with the count de Zobor, chamberlain of the emperor. The latter having refused to drink the health of Charles XII. and having bluntly declared that that prince had used his master ill, Stralheim gave him at once the lie and a box on the ear, and besides this insult, boldly demanded a reparation from the imperial court. The emperor, afraid of displeasing the king of Sweden, was obliged to banish his subject, whom he ought rather to have avenged. Charles, not satisfied even with this condescension, insisted that count Zobor should be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to stoop. The count was put into the hands of the king, who

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sent

sent him back, after having kept him for some time as a prisoner at Stettin.

He further demanded, contrary to all the laws of nations, that they should deliver up to him fifteen hundred unhappy Muscovites, who having escaped the fury of his arms, had fled for refuge into the empire. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this unreasonable demand; and had not the Russian envoy at Vienna given these unhappy wretches an opportunity of escaping by different roads, they must have been delivered into the hands of their enemies.

The third and last of his demands was the most daring. He declared himself the protector of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia, a province belonging to the house of Austria, and not to the empire. He insisted that the emperor should grant them the liberties and privileges which had been established by the treaties of Westphalia, but which were extinguished, or at least eluded by those of Ryswick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of such a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all that he desired. The Lutherans of Silesia had above an hundred churches, which the Catholics were obliged to cede to them by this treaty: but of these advantages, which were now procured them by the king of Sweden's good fortune, they were afterwards deprived, when that prince was no longer in a condition to impose laws.

The emperor who made these forced concessions, and complied in every thing with the will of Charles XII. was called Joseph; and was the eldest son of Leopold, and brother of Charles VI. who succeeded him. The pope's inter-runcio,

who then resided at the court of Joseph, reproached him in very severe terms, alledging that it was a most shameful condescension for a Catholic emperor, like him, to sacrifice the interest of his own religion to that of hereticks. "You may think yourself very happy, replied the emperor, with a smile, that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran; for if he had, I do not know what I might have done."

The count de Wratislau, his ambassador with Charles XII. brought to Leipzig the treaty in favour of the Silesians, signed with his master's hand; upon which Charles said, he was the emperor's very good friend. He was far from being pleased, however, with the court of Rome, which had employed all its arts and intrigues, in order to traverse his scheme. He looked with the utmost contempt upon the weakness of that court, which, having one half of Europe for its irreconcilable enemy, and placing no confidence in the other, can only support its credit by the dexterity of its negotiations; and he therefore resolved to be revenged on his holiness. He told the count de Wratislau, that the Swedes had formerly subdued Rome, and had not degenerated like her. He sent the pope word, that he would one day redemand the effects which queen Christina had left at Rome. It is hard to say how far this young conqueror might have carried his resentment and his arms, had fortune favoured his designs. At that time nothing appeared impossible to him. He had even sent several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength of those countries. Certain it is, that if ever prince was able to over-
turn

turn the empire of the Turks and Persians, and from thence pass into Italy, it was Charles XII. He was as young as Alexander, as brave, as enterprizing, more indefatigable, more robust, and more temperate; and the Swedes perhaps were better soldiers than the Macedonians. But such projects, which are called divine when they succeed, are regarded only as chimeras when they prove abortive.

At last, having removed every difficulty, and accomplished all his designs; having humbled the emperor, given laws in the empire, protected the Lutheran religion in the midst of the Catholics, dethroned one king, crowned another, and rendered himself the terror of all the princes around him, he began to prepare for his departure. The pleasures of Saxony, where he had remained inactive for a whole year, had not made the least alteration in his manner of living. He mounted his horse thrice a-day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself with his own hands, drank no wine, sat at table only a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble.

The Swedes were still uncertain whither their king intended to lead them. They had only some slight suspicion that he meant to go to Moscow. A few days before his departure, he ordered the grand marshal of his household, to give him in writing the route from Leipsick—at that word he paused a moment; and, lest the marshal should discover his project, he added, with a smile—to all the capital cities of Europe. The mareschal brought him a list of all these

routes, at the head of which he placed, in great letters, "The route from Leipsick to Stockholm." The generality of Swedes were extremely desirous of returning home; but the king was far from the thoughts of carrying them back to their native country. "Mr. Marechal, says he, I plainly see whither you would lead me; but we shall not return to Stockholm so soon."

The army was already on its march, and was passing by Dresden. Charles was at the head of his men, always riding, as usual, two or three hundred paces before his guards. All of a sudden he vanished from their sight. Some officers advanced at full gallop to see where he was. They ran to all parts, but could not find him. In a moment the alarm was spread over the whole army. The troops were ordered to halt: the generals assembled together, and were already in the utmost consternation. At last they learned from a Saxon, who was passing by, what was become of the king.

As he was passing so near Dresden, he took it into his head to pay a visit to Augustus. He entered the town on horseback, followed by three or four general officers. The sentries of the gates asked them their names? Charles said his name was Carl, and that he was a Draban; and all the rest took fictitious names. Count Fleming, seeing them pass through the town, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could possibly be done on such an occasion immediately presented itself to the mind of that minister, who laid it before Augustus. But Charles entered the chamber in his boots, before Augustus had time to recover from his sur-

surprize. Augustus was then sick, and in his night-gown; but dressed himself in a hurry. Charles breakfasted with him, as a traveller who comes to take leave of his friend; and then expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. During the short time he employed in walking round them, a Livonian who had been condemned in Sweden, and now served in the Saxon army, imagining that he could never find a more favourable opportunity of obtaining his pardon, entreated Augustus to ask it of Charles, being fully convinced that his majesty would not refuse so small a favour to a prince from whom he had taken a crown, and in whose power he now was. Augustus readily undertook the charge. He was then at some distance from the king, and was conversing with Hord, a Swedish general. "I believe, said he smiling, your master will not refuse me." "You do not know him, replied general Hord, he will rather refuse you here than any where else." Augustus however did not fail to prefer the petition in very pressing terms; and Charles refused it in such a manner as to prevent a repetition of the request. After having passed some hours in this strange visit, he embraced Augustus, and departed. Upon rejoining his army, he found all his generals still in consternation. They told him they had determined to besiege Dresden, in case his majesty had been detained a prisoner. "Right, said the king, they durst not." Next day, upon hearing the news that Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden: "You see, said baron Stralheim, they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday."

A few days after Renschild, coming to wait upon the king, expressed his surprize at this unaccountable visit to Augustus. "I confided, said Charles, in my good fortune; but I have seen the moment that might have proved prejudicial to me. Fleming had no mind that I should leave Dresden so soon."

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
C H A R L E S X I I .
K I N G of S W E D E N .

B O O K I V .

T H E C O N T E N T S .

C H A R L E S quits S A X O N Y in a victorious Manner :
Pursues the Czar : Shuts himself up in the
U K R A I N E : His Losses : His Wound : The
Battle of P U L T O W A : Consequences of that
Battle : Charles obliged to fly into T U R K Y :
His reception in B e s s a r a b i a .

C H A R L E S at last took leave of Saxony, in
September 1707, followed by an army of
forty-three thousand men, formerly covered with
steel, but now shining with gold and silver, and
enriched with the spoils of Poland and Saxony.
Every soldier carried with him fifty crowns in re-
ady money. Not only were all the regiments
complete, but in every company there were several
supernumeraries. Besides this army, Count Leven-
haupt, one of his best generals, waited for him
in Poland with twenty thousand men. He had
another army of fifteen thousand in Finland ; and

fresh recruits were coming to him from Sweden. With all these forces it was not doubted but that he would easily dethrone the czar.

That emperor was then in Lithuania, endeavouring to reanimate a party which Augustus seemed to have abandoned. His troops, divided into several bodies, fled on all sides at the first report of the king of Sweden's approach. He himself had enjoined his generals never to wait for the conqueror with unequal forces; and he was punctually obeyed.

The king of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious march, received an ambassador from the Turks. The ambassador had his audience in count Piper's quarters; for it was always in that minister's tent that ceremonies of pomp were performed. On these occasions he supported the dignity of his master, by an appearance which had in it something magnificent; and the king, who was always worse lodged, worse served, and more plainly dressed than the meanest officer in his army, was wont to say, that his palace was Piper's quarters. The Turkish ambassador presented Charles with an hundred Swedish soldiers, who having been taken by the Calmucks, and sold in Turkey, had been purchased by the grand seignior, and sent back by that emperor as the most acceptable present he could make to his majesty; not that the Ottoman pride condescended to pay homage to the glory of Charles XII. but because the sultan, the natural enemy of the Russian and German emperors, was willing to fortify himself against them by the friendship of Sweden and the alliance of Poland. The ambassador complimented Stanislaus upon his accession to the throne; so that this king was acknowledged by Germany, France,

France, England, Spain, and Turkey. There remained only the pope, who, before he would acknowledge him, resolved to wait till time should have settled on his head that crown of which a reverse of fortune might easily deprive it.

Charles had no sooner given audience to the ambassador of the Ottoman Porte, than he went in pursuit of the Muscovites. The Russians, in the course of the war, had quitted Poland and returned to it above twenty different times. That country, which is open on all sides, and has no places of strength to cut off the retreat of an army, gave the Muscovites an opportunity of sometimes revisiting the very spot where they had formerly been beat, and even of penetrating as far into the heart of the kingdom as the conqueror himself. While Charles remained in Saxony, the czar had advanced as far as Leopold, situated at the southern extremity of Poland. Charles was then at Grodno in Lithuania, an hundred leagues to the northward of Leopold.

He left Stanislaus in Poland to defend his new kingdom, with the assistance of ten thousand Swedes and that of his own subjects, against all his enemies, both foreign and domestic. He then put himself at the head of his cavalry, and marched amidst frost and snow to Grodno, in the month of January 1708.

He had already passed the Niemen, about two leagues from the town; and the czar as yet knew nothing of his march. Upon the first news of the approach of the Swedish army, the czar quits the town by the north gate, and Charles enters it by the south. Charles had only six hundred of his guards with him; the rest not being able to keep pace with his rapid march. The czar fled with

above two thousand men, from an apprehension that a whole army was entering Grodno. That very day he was informed by a Polish deserter, that he had abandoned the place to no more than six hundred men, and that the main body of the army was still at the distance of five leagues. He lost no time : he detached fifteen hundred horse, of his own troops in the evening, to surprise the king of Sweden in the town. This detachment, under favour of the darkness, arrived undiscovered at the first Swedish guard, which, tho' consisting only of thirty men, sustained, for half a quarter of an hour, the efforts of the whole fifteen hundred. The king, who happened to be at the other end of the town, flew to their assistance with the rest of his six hundred men ; upon which the Russians fled with precipitation. In a short time his army arrived, and he then set out in pursuit of the enemy. All the corps of the Russian army, dispersed through Lithuania, retired hastily into the palatinate of Minsky, near the frontiers of Muscovy, where their general rendezvous was appointed. The Swedes, who were likewise divided into several bodies, continued to pursue the enemy for more than thirty leagues. The fugitives and the pursuers made forced marches almost every day, though in the middle of winter. For a long time past all seasons of the year were become indifferent to the Swedes and Russians ; and the only difference between them now arose from the terror of Charles's arms.

From Grodno to the Boristhenes eastward, there is nothing but morasses, deserts, and immense forests. In the cultivated spots there are no provisions to be had, the peasants burying under ground all their grain, and whatever else can be

preserved in these subterranean receptacles. In order to discover these hidden magazines, the earth must be pierced with long poles pointed with iron. The Muscovites and the Swedes alternately made use of these provisions; but they were not always to be found, and even then they were not sufficient.

The king of Sweden, who had foreseen these difficulties, had provided biscuit for the subsistence of his army, and nothing could stop him in his march. After having traversed the forest of Minsky, where he was every moment obliged to cut down trees in order to clear the road for his troops and baggage, he found himself, on the 25th of June 1708, on the banks of the river Berezine, opposite to Borislow.

In this place the czar had assembled the best part of his forces, and intrenched himself to great advantage. His design was to hinder the Swedes from crossing the river. Charles posted some regiments on the banks of the Berezine, over against Borislow, as if he meant to attempt a passage in the face of the enemy. Mean while he leads his army three leagues higher up the river, throws a bridge across it, cuts his way through a body of three thousand men who defended that pass, and, without halting, marches against the main body of the enemy. The Russians did not wait his approach, but decamped and retreated towards the Boristhenes, spoiling all the roads, and destroying every thing in their way, in order, at least, to retard the progress of the Swedes.

Charles surmounted every obstacle, and still advanced towards the Boristhenes. In his way he met with twenty thousand Muscovites, intrenched in a place called Hollosin, behind a morass, which

could not be approached without passing a river. Charles did not delay the attack till the rest of his infantry should arrive : he plunges into the water at the head of his foot-guards, and crosses the river and the morafs, the water frequently reaching above his shoulders. While he was thus pressing forward to the enemy, he ordered his cavalry to go round the morafs and take them in flank. The Muscovites, surpris'd that no barrier could defend them, were instantly routed by the king, who attacked them on foot, and by the Swedish cavalry.

The horse, having forced their way through the enemy, joined the king in the midst of the battle. He then mounted on horseback; but some time after, observing in the field a young Swedish gentleman, named Gyllenstiern, for whom he had a great regard, wounded and unable to walk, he forced him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot at the head of his infantry. Of all the battles he had ever fought, this was perhaps the most glorious; this was the one in which he encountered the greatest dangers, and displayed the most consummate skill and prudence. The memory of it is still preserved by a medal, with this inscription on one side, *Sylvæ, palud. s. aggeres, hostes victi** : and on the other this verse of Lucan, *Victrices copias alium laturus in orbem*†.

The Russians, chased from all their posts, re-passed the Boristhenes, which divides Poland from Muscovy. Charles did not give over the pursuit; but followed them across the Boristhenes, which

* Woods, marshes, mounds, and enemies conquered.

† Wasting his warlike troops to other worlds.

he passed at Mohilou, the last town of Poland, and which sometimes belongs to the Poles, and sometimes to the Russians; a fate common to frontier places.

The czar thus seeing his empire, where he had lately established the polite arts and a flourishing trade, exposed to a war, which, in a short time, might overturn all his mighty projects, and perhaps deprive him of his crown, began to think seriously of peace; and accordingly ventured to make some proposals for that purpose, by means of a Polish gentleman, whom he sent to the Swedish army. Charles XII. who had not been used to grant peace to his enemies, except in their own capitals, replied, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow." When this haughty answer was reported to the czar, "My brother Charles (says he) always affects to act the Alexander; but, I flatter myself, he will not find in me another Darius."

From Mohilou, the place where the king passed the Boristhenes, as you advance towards the north, along the banks of that river, and always on the frontiers of Poland and Muscovy, you meet with the country of Smolensko, through which lies the great road that leads from Poland to Muscovy. This way the czar directed his flight; and the king pursued him by long marches. Part of the Russian rear-guard was frequently engaged with the dragoons of the Swedish van-guard. The latter had generally the advantage; but they weakened themselves even by conquering in these small skirmishes, which were never decisive, and in which they always lost a number of men.

On the 22d of September 1708, the king attacked, near Smolensko, a body of ten thousand horse, and six thousand Calmucks.

These

These Calmucks are Tartars, living between the kingdom of Astracan, which is subject to the czar, and that of Samarcande, belonging to the Usbeck Tartars, and the country of Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. The country of the Calmucks extends eastward to the mountains which divide the mogul from the western parts of Asia. Those who inhabit that part of the country which borders upon Astracan are tributary to the czar, who pretends to an absolute authority over them; but their vagrant life hinders him from making good his claim, and obliges him to treat them in the same manner in which the grand seignior treats the Arabs, sometimes conniving at, and sometimes punishing their robberies. There are always some of these Calmucks in the Russian army; and the czar had even reduced them to a regular discipline, like the rest of his soldiers.

The king attacked these troops with only six regiments of horse, and four thousand foot; broke their ranks at the first onset, at the head of his Ostrogothick regiment, and obliged them to fly. He pursued them thro' rugged and hollow ways, where the Calmucks lay concealed, who soon began to shew themselves and cut off the regiment in which the king fought from the rest of the Swedish army. In an instant the Russians and Calmucks surrounded this regiment, and penetrated even to the king. Two aids de camp who fought near him fell at his feet. The king's horse was killed under him; and as one of his equerries was presenting him with another, both the equerry and horse were struck dead upon the spot. Charles fought on foot, surrounded by some of his officers, who instantly flocked around him.

Many

Many of them were taken, wounded, or slain, or pushed to a great distance from the king by the crowds that assailed them; so that he was left at last with no more than five attendants. With his own hand he had killed above a dozen of the enemy, without receiving a single wound, owing to that surprising good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and upon which he always relied. At length a colonel, named Dardof, forced his way through the Calmucks, with a single company of his regiment, and arrived time enough to save the king. The rest of the Swedes put the Tartars to the sword. The army recovered its ranks; Charles mounted his horse, and, fatigued as he was, pursued the Russians for two leagues.

The conqueror was still in the great road to the capital of Muscovy. The distance from Smolensko, near which the battle was fought, to Moscow, is about an hundred French leagues; and the army began to be in want of provision. The officers earnestly entreated the king to wait till general Levenhaupt, who was coming up with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, should arrive. The king, who seldom indeed took counsel of any one, not only rejected this wholesome advice, but, to the great astonishment of all the army, quitted the road to Moscow, and began to march southwards towards the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, lying between Little Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country extends about an hundred French leagues from south to north, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two parts, almost equal, by the Boristhenes, which runs from the north-west to the south-east. The chief town is called Bathurin, and is situated upon the little river Sem.

Sem. The northern part of the Ukraine is rich and well cultivated. The southern, lying in the forty-eighth degree of latitude, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and yet one of the most desolate. Its bad form of government stifles in embryo, as it were, all the blessings which nature, if properly encouraged, would shower down upon the inhabitants. The people of these cantons neither sow nor plant, because the Tartars of Budziack, Precop, and Moldavia, all of them free-booters and banditti, would rob them of their harvests.

Ukrania hath always aspired to liberty; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the dominions of the grand seignior, and Poland, it has been obliged to chuse a protector, and consequently a master, in one of these three states. The Ukrainians at first put themselves under the protection of the Poles, who treated them with great severity. They afterwards submitted to the Russians, who governed them with despotic sway. They had originally the privilege of electing a prince under the name of general; but they were soon deprived of that right; and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow.

The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman, named Mazeppa, and born in the palatinate of Podolia. He had been brought up as a page to John Casimir, and had received some tincture of learning in his court. An intrigue which he had had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman, having been discovered, the husband caused him to be bound stark-naked upon a wild horse, and let him go in that condition. The horse, who had been brought out of Ukrania, returned to his own country, and carried

carried Mazeppa along with him, half-dead with hunger and fatigue. Some of the country-people gave him assistance; and he lived among them for a long time, and signalized himself in several excursions against the Tartars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks; and his reputation daily encreasing, the czar found it necessary to make him prince of Ukrania.

While he was one day at table with the czar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him to discipline the Cossacks, and to render them more dependent. Mazeppa replied, that the situation of Ukrania, and the genius of the nation, were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The czar, who began to be over-heated with wine, and who had not always the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him empaled.

Mazeppa, on his return to Ukrania, formed the design of a revolt; and the execution of it was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, which soon after appeared on his frontiers. He resolved to render himself independent, and to erect Ukrania and some other ruins of the Russian empire into a powerful kingdom. Brave, enterprising, and indefatigable, though advanced in years, he entered into a secret league with the king of Sweden, to hasten the downfall of the czar, and to convert it to his own advantage.

The king appointed the rendezvous near the river Desna. Mazeppa promised to meet him there at the head of thirty thousand men, with ammunition and provisions, and all his treasures, which were immense. The Swedish army therefore continued its march on that side, to the great grief
of

of all the officers, who knew nothing of the king's treaty with the Cossacks. Charles sent orders to Levenhaupt to bring his troops and provisions with all possible dispatch into Ukrania, where he proposed to pass the winter, that, having once secured that country, he might the more easily conquer Muscovy in the ensuing spring; and, in the mean time, he advanced towards the river Desna, which falls into the Boristhenes at Kiou.

The obstructions they had hitherto found in their march were but trifling, in comparison of what they met with in this new road. They were obliged to cross a marshy forest fifty leagues in length. General Lagercron, who marched before with five thousand soldiers and pioneers, led the army astray to the eastward, thirty leagues from the right road. It was not till after a march of four days that the king discovered the mistake. With great difficulty they regained the main road; but almost all their artillery and waggons were lost, being either stuck fast, or quite sunk in the mud.

At last, after a march of twelve days, attended with so many vexatious and untoward circumstances, during which they had consumed the small quantity of biscuit that was left, the army, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, arrived on the banks of the Desna, in the very spot which Mazeppa had marked out as the place of rendezvous; but instead of meeting with that prince, they found a body of Muscovites advancing towards the other bank of the river. The king was astonished, but resolved immediately to pass the Desna and attack the enemy. The banks of the river were so steep, that they were obliged to let the soldiers down with ropes. They crossed it in
their

their usual manner, some on floats which were made in haste, and others by swimming. The body of Muscovites which arrived at the same time did not exceed eight thousand men; so that it made but little resistance, and this obstacle was also surmounted.

Charles advanced farther into this desolate country, alike uncertain of his road and of Mazeppa's fidelity. That Cossack appeared at last, but rather like a fugitive than a powerful ally. The Muscovites had discovered and defeated his design; they had fallen upon the Cossacks and cut them in pieces. His principal friends being taken sword in hand, had, to the number of thirty, been broke upon the wheel; his towns were reduced to ashes; his treasures plundered; the provisions he was preparing for the king of Sweden seized; and it was with great difficulty that he himself made his escape with six thousand men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. However he gave the king some hopes that he should be able to assist him by his intelligence in that unknown country, and by the affection of all the Cossacks, who being enraged against the Russians, flocked to the camp and supplied the army with provisions.

Charles hoped that general Levenhaupt at least would come and repair this misfortune. He was to bring with him about fifteen thousand Swedes, who were better than an hundred thousand Cossacks, together with ammunition and provisions. At length he arrived, in much the same condition with Mazeppa.

He had already passed the Boristhenes above Mohilou, and advanced twenty leagues beyond it, on the road to the Ukraine. He was bringing the king a convoy of eight thousand waggons,
with

with the money which he had levied in his march through Lithuania. As he approached the town of Lefno, near the conflux of the rivers Pronia and Soffa, which fall into the Boristhenes far below, the czar appeared at the head of near forty thousand men.

The Swedish general, who had not sixteen thousand complete, scorned to shelter himself in a fortified camp. A long train of victories had inspired the Swedes with so much confidence, that they never informed themselves of the number of their enemies, but only of the place where they lay. Accordingly, on the seventh of October 1708, in the afternoon, Levenhaupt advanced against them with great resolution. In the first attack the Swedes killed fifteen hundred Russians. The czar's army was thrown into confusion, and fled on all sides. The emperor of Russia saw himself upon the point of being entirely defeated. He was sensible that the safety of his dominions depended upon the success of this day, and that he would be utterly ruined, should Levenhaupt join the king of Sweden with a victorious army.

The moment he saw his troops begin to flinch, he ran to the rear guard, where the Cossacks and Calmucks were posted. "I charge you, said he to them, to fire upon every one that runs away, and even to kill me, should I be so cowardly as to fly." From thence he returned to the van guard, and rallied his troops in person, assisted by the princes Menzikoff and Gallickin. Levenhaupt, who had received strict orders to rejoin his master, chose rather to continue his march than renew the battle, imagining he had done enough to prevent the enemy from pursuing him.

Next

Next morning, about eleven o'clock, the czar attacked him near a morass, and extended his lines with a view to surround him. The Swedes faced about on all sides; and the battle was maintained for the space of two hours with equal courage and obstinacy. The loss of the Muscovites was three times greater than that of the Swedes; the former, however, still kept their ground, and the victory was left undecided.

At four in the afternoon general Bayer brought the czar a reinforcement of troops. The battle was then renewed for the third time with more fury and eagerness than ever, and lasted till night put an end to the combat. At last superior numbers prevailed, the Swedes were broke, routed, and driven back to their baggage. Levenhaupt rallied his troops behind the waggons. The Swedes were conquered, but disdained to fly. They were still about nine thousand in number, and not so much as one of them deserted. The general drew them up with as much ease as if they had not been vanquished: The czar, on the other side, remained all night under arms; and forbade his officers, under pain of being cashiered, and his soldiers under pain of death, to leave their ranks for the sake of plunder.

Next morning at day-break, he ordered a fresh assault. Levenhaupt had retired to an advantageous situation, at the distance of a few miles, after having nailed up part of his cannon, and set fire to his waggons.

The Muscovites arrived time enough to prevent the whole convoy from being consumed by the flames. They seized about six thousand waggons, which they saved. The czar, desirous of completing the defeat of the Swedes, sent one
of

of his generals, named Phlug, to attack them again for the fifth time. That general offered them an honourable capitulation. Levenhaupt refused it, and fought a fifth battle, as bloody as any of the former. Of the nine thousand soldiers he had left, he lost about one half in this action, and the other remained unbroken. At last, night coming on, Levenhaupt, after having sustained five battles against forty thousand men, passed the Sossa with about five thousand soldiers that remained. The czar lost about ten thousand men in these five engagements, in which he had the glory of conquering the Swedes, and Levenhaupt that of disputing the victory for three days, and of effecting a retreat, without being obliged to surrender. Thus he arrived in his master's camp with the honour of having made such a noble defence; but bringing with him neither ammunition nor an army.

By these means Charles found himself destitute of provisions, cut off from all communication with Poland, and surrounded with enemies, in the heart of a country where he had no resource but his own courage.

In this extremity, the memorable winter of 1709, which was still more terrible in those quarters of the world than in France, destroyed part of his army. Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies; and ventured to make long marches with his troops during this mortal cold. It was in one of these marches that two thousand men fell dead with cold before his eyes. The dragoons had no boots, and the foot soldiers were without shoes, and almost without cloaths. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of wild beasts, in the best

manner they could. They were frequently in want of bread. They were obliged to throw almost all their cannon into the marshes and rivers, for want of horses to draw them ; so that this army, which was once so flourishing, was reduced to twenty-four thousand men ready to perish with hunger. They no longer received any news from Sweden, nor were able to send any thither. In this condition only one officer complained. "What, said the king to him, are you uneasy at being so far from your wife ? If you are a good soldier, I will lead you to such a distance, that you shall hardly be able to receive news from Sweden once in three years."

The marquis de Brancas, afterwards ambassador in Sweden, told me, that a soldier ventured, in presence of the whole army, to present to the king, with an air of complaint, a piece of bread that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, which was the only food they then had, and of which they had not even a sufficient quantity. The king received the bit of bread without the least emotion, eat it up, and then said coldly to the soldier, "It is not good, but it may be eaten." This incident, trifling as it is, if indeed any thing that increases respect and confidence can be said to be trifling, contributed more than all the rest to make the Swedish army support those hardships, which would have been intolerable under any other general.

While he was in this situation, he at last received a packet from Stockholm, by which he was informed of the death of his sister, the dutchess of Holstein, who was carried off by the small pox, in the month of December 1708, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She was
a prin-

a princess as mild and gentle as her brother was imperious in his disposition, and implacable in his revenge. He had always entertained a great affection for her; and was the more afflicted with her death, that now beginning to taste of misfortunes himself, he was of course become the more susceptible of tender impressions.

By this packet he was likewise informed, that his they had raised money and troops, in obedience to orders; but nothing could reach his camp, as between him and Stockholm there were near five hundred leagues to travel, and an enemy superior in number to engage.

The czar, who was as active as the king of Sweden, after having sent some fresh troops to the assistance of the confederates in Poland, who under the command of general Siniaufski, exerted their joint efforts against Stanislaus, immediately advanced into the Ukraine in the midst of this severe winter, to make head against his Swedish majesty. Then he continued to pursue the political scheme he had formed of weakening his enemy by petty rencounters, wisely judging that the Swedish army must in the end be entirely ruined, as it could not possibly be recruited. * The cold must certainly have been very severe, as it obliged the two monarchs to agree to a suspension of arms. But on the first of February they renewed their military operations, in the midst of frost and snow.

After several slight skirmishes, and some losses, the king perceived in the month of April, that he had only eighteen thousand Swedes remaining. Mazeppa, the prince of the Cossacks, supplied them with provisions; without his assistance, the army must have perished with want and hunger. At

this conjuncture, the czar made proposals to Mazeppa for submitting again to his authority. But whether it was that the terrible punishment of the wheel, by which his friends had perished, made the Cossack apprehend the same danger for himself, or that he was desirous of revenging their death, he continued faithful to his new ally.

Charles, with his eighteen thousand Swedes, had neither laid aside the design nor the hopes of penetrating to Moscow. Towards the end of May he laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Vorokla, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine, and thirty leagues from the Boristhenes. This country is inhabited by the Zaporavians, the most remarkable people in the universe. They are a collection of ancient Russians, Poles, and Tartars, professing a species of Christianity, and exercising a kind of free-booting, somewhat a-kin to that of the buccaneers. They chuse a chief, whom they frequently depose or strangle. They allow no women to live among them; but they carry off all the children for twenty or thirty leagues around, and bring them up in their own manners. The summer they always pass in the open fields; in winter they shelter themselves in large barns, containing four or five thousand men. They fear nothing; they live free; they brave death for the smallest booty, with as much intrepidity as Charles XII. did, in order to obtain the power of bestowing crowns. The czar gave them sixty thousand florins, hoping by this means to engage them in his interest. They took his money; and, influenced by the powerful eloquence of Mazeppa, declared in favour of Charles XII. but their service was of very little consequence,

as they think it the most egregious folly to fight for any thing but plunder. It was no small advantage, however, that they were prevented from doing harm. The number of their troops was, at most, but about two thousand. One morning ten of their chiefs were presented to the king; but it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to remain sober, as they commonly begin the day by getting drunk. They were brought to the intrenchments, where they shewed their dexterity in firing with long carbines; for being placed upon the mounds, they killed such of the enemy as they picked out at the distance of two hundred paces. To these banditti Charles added some thousands of Walachians, whom he had hired from the cham of Little Tartary; and thus laid siege to Pultowa, with all these troops of Zaporavians, Cossacks, and Walachians, which joined to his eighteen thousand Swedes, composed an army of about thirty thousand men; but an army in a wretched condition, and in want of every thing. The czar had formed a magazine in Pultowa. If the king should take it, he would open himself a way to Muscovy; and be able at least, amidst the great abundance he would then possess, to wait the arrival of the succours which he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Pomerania, and Poland. His only resource therefore being in the conquest of Pultowa, he pressed the siege of it with great vigour. Mazeppa, who carried on a correspondence with some of the citizens, assured him that he would soon be master of it; and this assurance revived the hopes of the soldiers, who considered the taking of Pultowa as the end of all their miseries.

The king perceived, from the beginning of the siege, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. In spite of all his precautions, prince Menzikoff threw some fresh troops into the town; by which means the garrison was rendered almost five thousand strong.

They made several sallies, and sometimes with success: they likewise sprung a mine; but what saved the town from being taken was the approach of the czar, who was advancing with seventy thousand men. Charles went to reconnoitre them on the twenty-seventh of May, which happened to be his birth-day, and beat one of their detachments; but as he was returning to his camp, he received a shot from a carbine, which pierced his boot and shattered the bone of his heel. There was not the least alteration observable in his countenance, from which it could be suspected that he had received a wound. He continued to give his orders with great composure, and after this accident remained almost six hours on horseback. One of his domesticks observing that the sole of the king's boot was bloody, made haste to call the surgeons; and the pain was now become so exquisite, that they were obliged to assist him in dismounting, and to carry him to his tent. The surgeons examined the wound, and were of opinion that the leg must be cut off, which threw the army into the utmost consternation. But one of the surgeons, named Newman, who had more skill and courage than the rest, affirmed, that by making deep incisions he could save the king's leg. "Fall to work then presently, said the king to him: cut boldly, and fear nothing." He himself held the leg with both his hands, and beheld the incisions that were made

in it, as if the operation had been performed upon another person.

As they were laying on the dressing, he ordered an assault to be made the next morning; but he had hardly given these orders, when he was informed that the whole army of the enemy was advancing against him; in consequence of which he was obliged to alter his resolution. Charles, wounded and incapable of acting, saw himself cooped up between the Boristhenes and the river that runs to Pultowa, in a desert country, without any places of security, or ammunition, in the face of an army, which at once cut off his retreat, and prevented his being supplied with provisions. In this extremity, he did not assemble a council of war, as, considering the perplexed situation of his affairs, he ought to have done; but on the seventh or eighth of July, in the evening, he sent for velt-mareschal Renschild to his tent; and without deliberation, or the least discomposure, ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for attacking the czar next day. Renschild made no objections, and went to carry his orders into execution. At the door of the king's tent he met count Piper, with whom he had long lived on very bad terms, as frequently happens between the minister and the general. Piper asked him if he had any news: No, said the general coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as count Piper had entered the tent; "Has Renschild told you nothing?" said the king: "Nothing," replied Piper: "Well then, resumed he, I tell you, that we shall give battle to-morrow." Count Piper was astonished at such a desperate resolution; but well knowing that it was impossible to make his master change his mind,

mind, he expressed his surprize only by his silence, and left Charles to sleep till break of day.

It was on the eighth of July 1709, that the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought between the two most famous monarchs that were then in the world. Charles XII. illustrious for nine years of victories ; Peter Alexiowitz for nine years of pains taken to form troops equal to those of Sweden: the one glorious for having given away dominions; the other for having civilized his own: Charles, fond of dangers, and fighting for glory alone: Alexiowitz scorning to fly from danger, and never making war but from interested views: the Swedish monarch liberal from an innate greatness of soul *; the Muscovite never granting favours but in order to serve some particular people: the former a prince of uncommon sobriety and continence, naturally magnanimous, and never cruel but once; the latter having not yet worn off the roughness of his education, or the barbarity of his country, as much the object of terror to his subjects as of admiration to strangers, and too prone to excesses, which even shortened his days. Charles had the title of "Invincible," of which a single

* We cannot perceive the least tincture of liberality or greatness of soul in Charles. He might indeed have made himself king of Poland by dint of violence; but the consequence of that violence would have disabled him from gratifying his revenge, which seems to have been the predominant passion of his soul. Had he ascended the throne of Poland, he must have maintained an army of Swedes in that kingdom, consequently he could not have advanced to the banks of the Boristhenes in pursuit of Peter Alexiowitz. We find in Charles an insensibility of danger, a contempt of wealth, a clownishness of manners, a brutality of disposition, an implacable thirst of revenge and dominion; without taste, sentiment, or humanity.

moment might deprive him; the neighbouring nations had already given Peter Alexiowitz the name of "Great;" which, as he did not owe it to his victories, he could not forfeit by a defeat.

In order to form a distinct idea of this battle, and the place where it was fought, we must figure to ourselves Pultowa on the north, the camp of the king of Sweden on the south, stretching a little towards the east, his baggage about a mile behind him, and the river of Pultowa on the north of the town, running from east to west.

The czar had passed the river about a league from Pultowa, towards the west, and was beginning to form his camp.

At break of day the Swedes appeared before the trenches with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp, with about three thousand men, and four thousand remained with the baggage: so that the Swedish army which advanced against the enemy, consisted of about one and twenty thousand men, of which about sixteen thousand only were regular troops.

The generals Renschild, Roos, Levenhaupt, Slipenbak, Hoorn, Sparre, Hamilton, the prince of Wirtemberg, the king's relation, and some others, who had most of them seen the battle of Narva, put the subaltern officers in mind of that day, when eight thousand Swedes defeated an army of eighty thousand Muscovites in their intrenchments. The officers exhorted the soldiers by the same motive, and as they advanced they all encouraged one another.

Charles, carried in a litter at the head of his infantry, conducted the march. A party of horse
ad-

advanced by his orders to attack that of the enemy; and the battle began with this engagement at half an hour past four in the morning. The enemy's horse was posted towards the west, on the right side of the Russian camp. Prince Menzikoff and count Gallowin had placed them at certain distances between redoubts lined with cannon. General Slipenbak, at the head of the Swedes, rushed upon them. All those who have served in the Swedish troops are sensible that it is almost impossible to withstand the fury of their first attack. The Muscovite squadrons were broken and routed. The czar ran up to rally them in person; his hat was pierced with a musket ball; Menzikoff had three horses killed under him; and the Swedes cried out, Victory.

Charles did not doubt but the battle was gained. About midnight he had sent general Creuts with five thousand horse or dragoons to take the enemy in flank, while he attacked them in front; but as his ill fortune would have it, Creuts mistook his way, and did not make his appearance. The czar, who thought he was ruined, had time to rally his cavalry, and in his turn fell upon that of the king, which, not being supported by the detachment of Creuts, was likewise broken. Slipenbak was taken prisoner in this engagement. At the same time seventy-two pieces of cannon played from the camp upon the cavalry; and the Russian foot opening their lines, advanced to attack Charles's infantry.

After this the czar detached prince Menzikoff to go and take post between Pultowa and the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff executed his master's orders with dexterity and expedition. He not only cut off the communication between the Swe-

dith army and the camp before Pultowa; but having met with a corps de reserve, he surrounded them and cut them in pieces. If Menzikoff performed this exploit of his own accord, Russia is indebted to him for its preservation: if it was by the orders of the czar, he was an adversary worthy of Charles XII. Mean while the Russian infantry came out of their lines, and advanced into the plain in order of battle. On the other hand, the Swedish cavalry rallied within a quarter of a league from the enemy; and the king, assisted by velt-mareschal Renschild, made the necessary dispositions for a general engagement.

He ranged the few troops that were left him in two lines, his infantry occupying the center and his cavalry forming the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same manner. He had the advantage of numbers, and of seventy-two pieces of cannon, while the Swedes had no more than four to oppose to him, and began to be in want of powder.

The emperor of Muscovy was in the center of his army, having then only the title of major-general, and seemed to obey general Zermetoff. But he rode from rank to rank in the character of emperor, mounted on a Turkish horse, which had been given him in a present by the grand signor, animating the captains and soldiers, and promising rewards to them all.

At nine in the morning the battle was renewed. One of the first discharges of the Russian cannon carried off the two horses of Charles's litter. He caused two others to be immediately put to it. A second discharge broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. Of four and twenty Drabants, who mutually relieved each other in carrying

rying him, one and twenty were killed. The Swedes, struck with consternation, began to stagger; and the cannon of the enemy continuing to mow them down, the first line fell back upon the second, and the second began to fly. In this last action it was only a single line of ten thousand Russian infantry that routed the Swedish army: so much were matters changed!

All the Swedish writers alledge, that they would have gained the battle, if they had not committed several blunders; but all the officers affirm that it was a great blunder to give battle at all, and a greater still to shut themselves up in a desert country, against the advice of the most prudent generals, in opposition to a warlike enemy, three times stronger than Charles, both in number of men, and in the many resources from which the Swedes were entirely cut off. The remembrance of Narva was the chief cause of Charles's misfortune at Pultowa.

The prince of Wirtemberg, general Renschild, and several principal officers were already made prisoners; the camp before Pultowa was stormed; and all was thrown into a confusion which it was impossible to rectify. Count Piper, with some officers of the chancery, had left the camp, and neither knew what to do, nor what was become of the king; but ran about from one corner of the field to another. A major, called Bere, offered to conduct them to the baggage; but the clouds of dust and smoke which covered the plain, and the dissipation of mind so natural amidst such a desolation, brought them straight to the counterscarp of the town, where they were all made prisoners by the garrison.

The king scorned to fly, and yet was unable to defend himself. General Poniatowsky happened to be near him at that instant. He was a colonel of Stanislaus's Swedish guards, a man of extraordinary merit, and had been induced, from his strong attachment to the person of Charles, to follow him into the Ukraine, without any post in the army. He was a man, who, in all the occurrences of life, and amidst those dangers when others would at most have displayed their courage, always took his measures with dispatch, prudence, and success. He made a sign to two Drabants, who took the king under the arm, and placed him on his horse, notwithstanding the exquisite pain of his wounds.

Poniatowsky, though he had no command in the army, became on this occasion a general thro' necessity, and drew up five hundred horse near the king's person; some of them Drabants, others officers, and a few private troopers. This body being assembled and animated by the misfortune of their prince, forced their way through more than ten Russian regiments, and conducted Charles through the midst of the enemy for the space of a league, to the baggage of the Swedish army.

Charles, being closely pursued in his flight, had his horse killed under him; and colonel Gieta, though wounded and spent with loss of blood, gave him his. Thus in the course of the flight they twice put this conqueror on horseback, though he had not been able to mount a horse during the engagement.

This surprising retreat was of great consequence in such distressful circumstances; but he was obliged to fly to a still greater distance. They found count Piper's coach among the baggage;
for

for the king had never used one since he left Stockholm: they put him into this vehicle, and fled towards the Boristhenes with great precipitation. The king, who, from the time of his being set on horseback till his arrival at the baggage, had not spoke a single word, at length enquired, what was become of count Piper? They told him he was taken prisoner, with all the officers of the chancery. "And general Renschild and the duke of Wirtemberg?" added the king. "Yes," says Poniatowsky. "Prisoners to the Russians!" resumed Charles, shrugging up his shoulders; "Come then, let us rather go to the Turks." They could not perceive, however, the least mark of dejection in his countenance; and had any one seen him at that time, without knowing his situation, he would never have suspected that he was conquered and wounded.

While he was getting off, the Russians seized his artillery in the camp before Pultowa, his baggage, and his military-chest, in which they found six millions in specie, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Nine thousand men, partly Swedes and partly Cossacks, were killed in the battle, and about six thousand taken prisoners. There still remained about sixteen thousand men, including the Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Boristhenes, under the conduct of general Levenhaupt. He marched one way with these fugitive troops; and the king took another road with some of his horse. The coach in which he rode broke down by the way, and they again set him on horseback: and, to complete his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood; where, his courage being no longer able to support his exhausted spirits, the pain of his wound becoming

more intolerable through fatigue, and his horse falling under him through excessive weariness, he lay some hours at the foot of a tree, in danger of being surprised every moment by the conquerors, who were searching for him on all sides.

At last, on the 9th or 10th of July, at night, he found himself on the banks of the Boristhenes. Levenhaupt had just arrived with the shattered remains of the army. It was with an equal mixture of joy and sorrow that the Swedes again beheld their king, whom they thought to be dead. The enemy was approaching. The Swedes had neither a bridge to pass the river, nor time to make one, nor powder to defend themselves, nor provisions to support an army, which had eat nothing for two days. But the remains of this army were Swedes, and the conquered king was Charles XII. Most of the officers imagined, that they were to halt there for the Russians, without flinching; and that they would either conquer or die on the banks of the Boristhenes. Charles would undoubtedly have taken this resolution, had he not been exhausted with weakness. His wound was now come to a suppuration, attended with a fever; and it hath been remarked, that men of the greatest intrepidity, when seized with the fever that is common in a suppuration, lose that impulse to valour, which, like all other virtues, requires the direction of a clear head. Charles was no longer himself. This, at least, is what I have been well assured of, and what indeed is extremely probable. They carried him along like a sick person in a state of insensibility. Happily there was still left a sorry calash, which by chance they had brought along with them: this they put on board of a little boat; and the king and general

neral Mazeppa embarked in another. The latter had saved several coffers full of money; but the current being rapid, and a violent wind beginning to blow, the Cossack threw more than three fourths of his treasures into the river to lighten the boat. Mullern, the king's chancellor, and count Poniatowsky, a man more necessary to the king than ever, on account of his admirable dexterity in finding expedients for all difficulties, crossed over in other barks with some officers. Three hundred troopers of the king's guards, and a great number of Poles and Cossacks, trusting to the goodness of their horses, ventured to pass the river by swimming. Their troop keeping close together, resisted the current, and broke the waves; but all those who attempted to pass separately, a little below, were carried down by the stream, and sunk in the river. Of all the foot who attempted to pass, there was not a single man that reached the other side.

While the shattered remains of the army were in this extremity, prince Menzikoff came up with ten thousand horsemen, having each a foot-soldier behind him. The carcases of the Swedes who had died by the way, of their wounds, fatigue, and hunger, shewed prince Menzikoff but too plainly the road which the fugitive army had taken. The prince sent a trumpet to the Swedish general, to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were presently dispatched by Levenhaupt to receive the commands of the conqueror. Before that day, sixteen thousand soldiers of king Charles would have attacked the whole forces of the Russian empire, and would have perished to a man rather than surrender. But after the loss of
a battle,

a battle, and a flight of two days, deprived of the presence of their prince, who was himself constrained to fly, the strength of every soldier being exhausted, and their courage no longer supported by the least prospect of relief, the love of life overcame their natural intrepidity. Colonel Troutfetre alone, observing the Muscovites approach, began to advance with one Swedish battalion to attack them, hoping by this means to induce the rest of the troops to follow his example. But Levenhaupt was obliged to oppose this unavailing ardour. The capitulation was settled, and the whole army were made prisoners of war. Some soldiers, reduced to despair at the thoughts of falling into the hands of the Muscovites, threw themselves into the Boristhenes. Two officers of the regiment commanded by the brave Troutfetre, killed each other, and the rest were made slaves. They all filed off in presence of prince Menzikoff, laying their arms at his feet, as thirty thousand Muscovites had done nine years before at those of the king of Sweden, at Narva. But whereas the king sent back all the Russians, whom he did not fear, the czar retained the Swedes that were taken at Pultowa.

These unhappy creatures were afterwards dispersed through the czar's dominions, particularly in Siberia, a vast province of Great Tartary, which extends eastward to the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In this barbarous country, where even the use of bread was unknown, the Swedes, who were become ingenious through necessity, exercised the trades and employments of which they had the least notion. All the distinctions which fortune makes among men were there banished.

The

The officer, who could not follow any trade, was obliged to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, now turned taylor, clothier, joiner, mason, or goldsmith, and who got a subsistence by his labour. Some of the officers became painters, and others architects. Some of them taught the languages and mathematics. They even established some public schools, which in time became so useful and famous, that the citizens of Moscow sent their children thither for education.

Count Piper, the king of Sweden's first minister, was for a long time confined in prison at Petersburg. The czar was persuaded, as well as the rest of Europe, that this minister had sold his master to the duke of Marlborough, and drawn on Muscovy the arms of Sweden, which might have given peace to Europe; for which reason he rendered his confinement the more severe. Piper died in Muscovy a few years after, little assisted by his own family, which lived in opulence at Stockholm, and vainly lamented by his sovereign, who would never condescend to offer a ransom for his minister, which he feared the czar would not accept of, for no cartel of exchange had ever been settled between them.

The emperor of Muscovy, elated with a joy which he was at no pains to conceal, received upon the field of battle the prisoners, whom they brought to him in crowds; and asked every moment, "Where then is my brother Charles?"

He did the Swedish generals the honour of inviting them to dine with him. Among other questions which he put to them, he asked general Renschild, what might be the number of his master's troops before the battle? Renschild answered,

ed, That the king always kept the muster-roll himself, and would never shew it to any one; but that, for his own part, he imagined the whole might be about thirty thousand, of which eighteen thousand were Swedes, and the rest Cossacks. The czar seemed to be surpris'd, and asked how they durst venture to penetrate into so distant a country, and lay siege to Pultowa with such a handful of men? "We were not always consulted, (replied the Swedish general;) but, like faithful servants, we obeyed our master's orders, without ever presuming to contradict them." The czar, upon receiving this answer, turned about to some of his courtiers, who were formerly suspected of having engaged in a conspiracy against him: "Ah! (says he) see how a king should be served;" and then taking a glass of wine, "To the health (says he) of my masters in the art of war." Renschild asked him who were the persons whom he honoured with so high a title? "You, gentlemen, the Swedish generals," replied the czar. "Your majesty then (resumed the count) is very ungrateful, to treat your masters with so much severity." After dinner the czar caused their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and behaved to them like a prince who had a mind to give his subjects a lesson of generosity and politeness, with which he was well acquainted. But this same prince, who treated the Swedish generals with so much humanity, caused all the Cossacks that fell into his hands to be broke upon the wheel.

Thus the Swedish army, which left Saxony in such a triumphant manner, was now no more. One half of them had perished with hunger, and the other half were either massacred or made slaves.

slaves. Charles XII. had lost in one day the fruit of nine years labour, and of almost an hundred battles. He made his escape in a wretched calash, attended by major-general Hoord, who was dangerously wounded. The rest of his little troop followed, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in waggons, through a desert, where neither huts, tents, men, beasts, nor roads were to be seen. Every thing was wanting, even to water itself. It was now the beginning of July; the country lay in the forty-seventh degree of latitude; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun the more insupportable; the horses fell by the way; and the men were ready to die with thirst. A brook of muddy water which they found towards evening was all they met with; they filled some bottles with this water, which saved the lives of the king's little troop. After a march of five days, he at last found himself on the banks of the river Hypanis, now called Bogh by the barbarians, who have spoiled not only the general face, but even the very names of those countries, which once flourished so nobly in the possession of the Greek colonies. This river joins the Boristhenes some miles lower, and falls along with it into the Black Sea.

On the other side of the Bogh, towards the south, stands the little town of Oczakou, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants seeing a body of soldiers approach, to whose dress and language they were entire strangers, refused to carry them over the river, without an order from Mehemet Basha, governor of Oczakou. The king sent an express to the governor, demanding a passage; but the Turk not knowing what to do, in a
country

country where one false step frequently costs a man his life, durst not venture to take any thing upon himself, without having first obtained permission of the seraskier of the province, who resides at Bender in Bessarabia. While they were waiting for this permission, the Russians who had made the king's army prisoners had crossed the Boristhenes, and were approaching to take him also. At last the basha of Oczakou sent word to the king, that he would furnish him with one small boat, to transport himself and two or three of his attendants. In this extremity the Swedes took by force what they could not obtain by gentle means: some of them went over to the further side in a small skiff, seized on some boats, and brought them to the hither bank of the river. And happy was it for them that they did so; for the masters of the Turkish barks, fearing they should lose such a favourable opportunity of getting a good freight, came in crowds to offer their service. At that very instant arrived the favourable answer of the seraskier of Bender; and the king had the mortification to see five hundred of his men seized by the enemy, whose insulting bravadoes he even heard. The basha of Oczakou, by means of an interpreter, asked his pardon for the delays which had occasioned the loss of these five hundred men, and humbly entreated him not to complain of it to the grand seignior. Charles promised him that he would not; but at the same time gave him a severe reprimand, as if he had been speaking to one of his own subjects.

The commander of Bender, who was likewise seraskier, a title which answers to that of general, and basha of the province, which signifies governor

vernor and intendant, forthwith sent an aga to compliment the king, and to offer him a magnificent tent, with provision, baggage, waggons, and all the conveniencies, officers, and attendant, necessary to conduct him to Bender in a splendid manner; for it is the custom of the Turks, not only to defray the charges of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but likewise to supply, with great liberality, the necessities of those princes who take refuge among them, during the time of their stay.

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T H E C O N T E N T S .

State of the OTTOMAN PORTE. CHARLES resides near BENDER : His Employments : His Intrigues at the PORTE : His Designs. AUGUSTUS restored to his Throne. The King of DENMARK makes a Descent upon SWEDEN. All the other Dominions of CHARLES are invaded. The Czar enters Moscow in Triumph. Affair of PRUTH. History of the Czarina, who from a Country-girl became Empress.

A CHMET III. was at that time emperor of the Turks. He had been placed upon the throne in 1703, by a revolution not unlike to that which transferred the crown of England from James II. to his son-in-law William. Mustapha being governed by his musti, who was hated by all the Turks, provoked the whole empire to rise against him. His army, by the assistance of which he hoped to punish the malecontents, went over

to the rebels. He was seized, and deposed in form; and his brother taken from the seraglio and advanced to the throne, almost without spilling a single drop of blood. Achmet shut up the deposed sultan in the seraglio at Constantinople, where he lived for several years, to the great astonishment of Turkey, which had been wont to see the dethronement of her princes always followed by their death.

The new sultan, as the only recompence for a crown which he owed to the ministers, to the generals, to the officers of the janissaries, and in a word to those who had had any hand in the revolution, put them all to death, one after another, for fear they should one day attempt a second revolution. By sacrificing so many brave men, he weakened the strength of the nation; but established his throne, at least for some years. The next object of his attention was to amass riches. He was the first of the Ottoman race that ventured to make a small alteration in the current coin, and to impose new taxes; but he was obliged to drop both these enterprizes, for fear of an insurrection. The rapacity and tyranny of the grand seignior are seldom felt by any but the officers of the empire; who, whatever they may be in other respects, are domestic slaves to the sultan; but the rest of the Mussulmans live in profound tranquillity, secure of their liberty, their lives, and fortunes*.

Such

* We are surpris'd to hear our author still harping upon this string, namely, the liberty and security which the Turks enjoy; as it is well known that these miserable creatures are every day subject to be pillaged and massacred by the

Such was the Turkish emperor to whom the king of Sweden fled for refuge. As soon as he set foot on the sultan's territories, he wrote him a letter, which bears date the 13th of July 1709. Several copies of this letter were spread abroad, all of which are now held to be spurious; but of all those I have seen, there is not one but what sufficiently marks the natural haughtiness of the author, and is more suitable to his courage than his condition. The sultan did not return him an answer till towards the end of September. The pride of the Ottoman Porte made Charles sensible what a mighty difference there was between a Turkish emperor and a king of part of Scandinavia, a conquered and fugitive Christian. For the rest, all these letters, which kings seldom write themselves, are but vain formalities, which neither serve to discover the characters of princes, nor the state of their affairs.

Though Charles XII. was in reality no better than a prisoner honourably treated in Turkey, he yet formed the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies. He flattered himself that he should be able to reduce Poland under the yoke, and subdue Russia. He had an envoy at Constantinople; but the person that served him most effectually in his vast projects, was the count de Poniatowsky, who went to Constantinople without a commission, and soon rendered himself necessary to the king, agreeable to the Porte, and at last dangerous even to the grand viziers*.

the soldiery; to be oppressed, stripped, and often punished with death by the officers of justice, even without form of trial.

* It was from this nobleman I received not only the remarks which have been published, and of which the chaplain Norberg hath made use, but likewise several other manuscripts relating to this history,

One of those who seconded his designs with the greatest activity, was the physician Fonseca, a Portuguese Jew, settled at Constantinople, a man of knowledge and address, well qualified for the management of business, and perhaps the only philosopher of his nation. His profession procured him a free access to the Ottoman Porte, and frequently gained him the confidence of the viziers. With this gentleman I was very well acquainted at Paris; and all the particulars I am going to relate were, he assured me, unquestionable truths. Count Poniatowsky hath informed me, both by letters and by word of mouth, that he had the address to convey some letters to the sultaneß Valide, the mother of the reigning emperor, who had formerly been ill-used by her son, but now began to recover her influence in the seraglio. A Jewess, who was often admitted to this princess, was perpetually recounting to her the exploits of the king of Sweden, and charmed her ear by these relations. The sultaneß, moved by that secret inclination with which most women feel themselves inspired in favour of extraordinary men, even without having seen them, openly espoused the king's cause in the seraglio. She called him by no other name than that of her lion: "And when will you (would she sometimes say to the sultan her son,) when will you help my lion to devour this czar?" She even dispensed with the rules of the seraglio, so far as to write several letters with her own hand to count Poniatowsky, in whose custody they still are, at the time of my writing this history.

Mean while the king was honourably conducted to Bender, thro' the desert that was formerly called the Wilderness of the Getæ. The Turks took

took care that nothing should be wanting on the road, to render his journey agreeable. A great many Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped from the Muscovites, came by different ways to increase his train on the road. By the time he reached Bender he had eighteen hundred men, who were all maintained and lodged, both they and their horses, at the expence of the grand seignior.

The king chose to encamp near Bender, rather than lodge in the town. The seraskier Jussuf basha caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him; and tents were likewise provided for all the lords of his retinue. Some time after, Charles built a house in this place; the officers followed his example; and the soldiers raised barracks; so that his camp insensibly became a little town. As the king was not yet cured of his wound, he was obliged to have a carious bone extracted from his foot. But as soon as he could mount a horse, he resumed his wonted labours, always rising before the sun, tiring three horses a-day, and exercising his soldiers. By way of amusement, he sometimes played at chess; and, as the characters of men are often discovered by the most trifling incidents, it may not be improper to observe, that he always advanced the king first at that game, and made greater use of him than of any of the other men; by which he was always a loser.

At Bender he had all the necessaries of life in great abundance, a felicity that seldom falls to the lot of a conquered and fugitive prince; for besides the more than sufficient quantity of provisions, and the five hundred crowns a-day, which he received from the Ottoman munificence, he drew some money from France, and borrowed of the

the merchants at Constantinople. Part of this money was employed in forwarding his intrigues in the seraglio, in buying the favours of the viziers, or procuring their ruin. The rest he squandered away with great profusion among his own officers and the janissaries who composed his guards at Bender. The dispenser of these acts of liberality was Grothusen, his favourite, a man, who, contrary to the custom of persons in that station, was as fond of giving as his master. He once brought him an account of sixty thousand crowns in two lines; ten thousand crowns given to the Swedes and janissaries by the generous orders of his majesty, and the rest eat up by myself: "It is thus (says the king) that I would have my friends to give in their accompts. Mullern makes me read whole pages for the sum of ten thousand livres. I like the laconic stile of Grothusen much better." One of his old officers, who was suspected of being somewhat covetous, complained that his majesty gave all to Grothusen: "I give money (replies the king) to none but those who know how to use it." This generosity frequently reduced him to such a low ebb, that he had not wherewithal to give. A better oeconomy in his acts of generosity would have been as much for his honour, and more for his interest; but it was the failing of this prince to carry all the virtues beyond the due bounds.

Great numbers of strangers went from Constantinople to see him. The Turks and the neighbouring Tartars came thither in crouds: all respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting twice a-day at public prayers, made them

say that he was a true Mussulman, and inspired them with an ardent desire of marching along with him to the conquest of Muscovy.

During his abode at Bender, which was much longer than he expected, he insensibly acquired a taste for reading. Baron Fabricius, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke of Holstein, a young man of an amiable character, who possessed that gaiety of temper, and easy turn of wit, which is so agreeable to princes, was the person who engaged him in these literary amusements. He had been sent to reside with him at Bender in the character of envoy, to take care of the interests of the young duke of Holstein; and he succeeded in his negotiations by his open and agreeable behaviour. He had read all the best French authors. He persuaded the king to read the tragedies of Peter Corneille, those of Racine, and the works of Despreaux. The king had no relish for the satires of the last author, which indeed are far from being his best pieces; but he was very fond of his other writings. When he read that passage of the eighth satire, where the author treats Alexander as a fool and a madman, he tore out the leaf.

Of all the French tragedies, Mithridates pleased him most, because the situation of that monarch, who, though vanquished, still breathed vengeance, was so similar to his own. He shewed Mr. Fabricius the passages that struck him; but would never read any of them aloud, nor ever hazard a single word in French. Nay, when he afterwards saw Mr. Desaleurs, the French ambassador at the Porte, a man of distinguished merit, but acquainted only with his mother-tongue, he answered him
in

in Latin ; and when Mr. Defaleurs protested that he did not understand four words of that language, the king, rather than talk French, sent for an interpreter.

Such were the occupations of Charles XII. at Bender, where he waited till a Turkish army should come to his assistance. His envoy presented memorials in his name to the grand vizier ; and Poniatowsky supported them with all his interest. This gentleman's address succeeded in every thing ; he was always dressed in the Turkish fashion, and he had free access to every place. The grand seignior presented him with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the grand vizier said to him, " I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other ; I will lead him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men." The name of this grand vizier was Chourlouli Ali Bascha ; he was the son of a peasant of the village of Chourlou. Such an extraction is not reckoned a disgrace among the Turks, who have no ranks of nobility, neither that which is annexed to certain employments, nor that which consists in titles. With them the dignity and importance of a man's character depends entirely upon his personal services. This is a custom which prevails in most of the eastern countries ; a custom extremely natural, and which might be productive of the most beneficial effects, if posts of honour were conferred on none but men of merit ; but the viziers for the most part are no better than the creatures of a black eunuch, or a favourite female slave.

The first minister soon changed his mind. The king could do nothing but negotiate, and the czar could give money, which he distributed with

great profusion; and he even employed the money of Charles XII. on this occasion. The military-chest which he took at Pultowa furnished him with new arms against the vanquished king; and it was no longer the question at court, whether war should be made upon the Russians? The interest of the czar was all-powerful at the Porte, which granted such honours to his envoy as the Muscovite ministers had never before enjoyed at Constantinople. They allowed him to have a *se-raglio*, that is, a palace in the quarter of the Franks, who converse with the foreign ministers. The czar thought he might even demand that general Mazeppa should be put into his hands, as Charles XII. had caused the unhappy Patkul to be delivered up to him. Chourlouli Ali Basha could refuse nothing to a prince who backed his demands with millions. Thus that same grand vizier, who had formerly promised in the most solemn manner to lead the king of Sweden into Muscovy with two hundred thousand men, had the assurance to make him a proposal of consenting to the sacrifice of general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is hard to say how far the vizier might have pushed the affair, had not Mazeppa, who was now seventy years of age, died exactly at this juncture. The king's grief and indignation were greatly increased, when he understood that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was served in public by the Swedes that had been made slaves at Pultowa, and that the brave soldiers were daily sold in the market at Constantinople. Nay, the Russian ambassador made no scruple of declaring openly, that the Mussulman troops at Bender

were

were placed there rather with a view to secure the king's person, than to do him any honour.

Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey, as he had been by his arms in the Ukraine, saw himself deceived and despised by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His attendants began to despair. Himself alone remained firm, and never appeared in the least dejected. Convinced that the sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouli Ali, his grand vizier, he resolved to acquaint him with them; and Poniatowsky undertook the execution of this hazardous enterprize. The grand seignior goes every Friday to the mosque, surrounded by his solaks, a kind of guards, whose turbans are adorned with such high feathers as to conceal the sultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to present to the grand seignior, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the petition aloft. Sometimes the sultan condescends to receive it himself; but for the most part he orders an aga to take charge of it, and upon his return from the mosque causes the petition to be laid before him. There is no fear of any one's daring to importune him with useless memorials and trifling petitions, inasmuch as they write less at Constantinople in a whole year than they do at Paris in one day. There is still less danger of any memorials being presented against the ministers, to whom he commonly remits them unread. Poniatowsky had no other way of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to the grand seignior. He drew up a heavy charge against the grand vizier. Mr.

de Feriol, who was then the French ambassador, and who gave me an account of the whole affair, got the memorial translated into the Turkish tongue. A Greek was hired to present it: this Greek mingling with the guards of the grand seignior, held the paper so high for so long a time, and made such a noise, that the sultan observed him and took the memorial himself.

This method of presenting memorials to the sultan against his viziers was frequently employed. A Swede, called Leloing, gave in another petition a few days after. Thus in the Turkish empire Charles XII. was reduced to the necessity of using the same expedients with an oppressed subject.

Some days after this, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, as the only answer to his complaints, five and twenty Arabian horses, one of which, that had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housings enriched with precious stones, with stirrups of massy gold. This present was accompanied with an obliging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the sultan's consent. Chourlouli too, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, sent the king five very curious horses. But Charles, with a lofty air, said to the person that brought them; "Go back to your master, and tell him that I don't receive presents from my enemies."

Poniatowsky having already ventured to present a petition against the grand vizier, he next formed the bold design of deposing him. Understanding that the vizier was disagreeable to the sul-

sultaneſs mother, and that he was hated by Kiſlar Aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, and by the aga of the janiffaries, he prompted them all three to ſpeak againſt him. It was ſomething very ſurpriſing to ſee a Chriſtian, a Pole, an uncommiſſioned agent of the king of Sweden, who had taken refuge among the Turks, caballing almoſt openly at the Porte againſt a viceroy of the Ottoman empire, who, at the ſame time, was both an able miniſter and a favourite of his maſter. Poniatowsky could never have ſucceeded, and the bare attempt would have coſt him his life; had not a power ſuperior to all thoſe that operated in his favour given a finiſhing ſtroke to the fortune of the grand vizier Chourlouli.

The ſultan had a young favourite, who afterwards governed the Ottoman empire, and was killed in Hungary in 1716, at the battle of Peterwaradin, which prince Eugene of Savoy gained over the Turks. His name was Coumourgi Ali-Baſha: his birth was much the ſame with that of Chourlouli; being the ſon of a coal-heaver, as Coumourgi imports, Coumour in the Turkiſh tongue ſignifying coal. The emperor Achmet II. uncle of Achmet III. having met Coumourgi, while yet an infant, in a little wood near Adrianople, was ſtruck with his extraordinary beauty, and cauſed him to be conducted to the ſeraglio. Muſtapha, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahomet, was very fond of him; and Achmet III. made him his favourite. He had then no other place but that of ſeliſtar-aga, or ſword-bearer to the crown. His extreme youth did not allow him to make any open pretenſions to the poſt of grand vizier; and yet he had the ambition to aſpire to

it. The Swedish faction could never draw over this favourite to their side. He had never been a friend to Charles, or to any other Christian prince, or to any of their ministers; but on this occasion he served king Charles XII. without intending to do so. He joined with the sultaneſs Valide and the great officers of the Porte, to haſten the ruin of Chourlouli, who was equally hated by them all. This old miniſter, who had ſerved his maſter for a long time, and with great fidelity, fell a victim to the caprice of a boy, and the intrigues of a foreigner. He was ſtripped of his dignity and riches. His wife, who was the daughter of the late ſultan Muſtapha, was taken from him; and himſelf was baniſhed to Caſſa, formerly called Theodoſia, in Crim Tartary. The bull, that is to ſay, the ſeal of the empire, was given to Numan Couprougli, grandſon to the great Couprougli, who took Candia. This new vizier was, what ill-formed Chriſtians can hardly believe it poſſible for a Turk to be, a man of incorruptible virtue, a ſcrupulous obſerver of the law, and one who frequently oppoſed the rigid rules of juſtice to the wayward will of the ſultan. He could not endure to hear of a war againſt Muſcovy, which he conſidered as alike unjuſt and unneceſſary; but the ſame attachment to his law, that prevented his making war upon the czar, contrary to the faith of treaties, made him obſerve the rights of hoſpitality towards the king of Sweden. “The law forbids you, would he ſay to his maſter, to attack the czar, who has done you no injury; but it commands you to ſuccour the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions.” He ſent his ma-
jeſty

jeſty eight hundred purſes, (every purſe containing five hundred crowns,) and adviſed him to return peaceably to his own dominions, either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in ſome of the French veſſels which then lay in the harbour of Conſtantinople, and which Mr. de Feriol, the French ambaffador at the Porte, offered to Charles to conduct him to Marſeilles. Count Poniatowſky carried on his negociations with greater activity than ever, and acquired ſuch a ſuperiority with an incorruptible vizier, as the gold of the Muſcovites was unable to counterbalance. The Ruſſian faction thought it would be their wiſeſt courſe to poiſon ſuch a dangerous negociator. They gained one of his domeſtics, who was to give him the poiſon in a diſh of coffee; but the crime was diſcovered before it was carried into execution. The poiſon was found in the hands of the domeſtick, contained in a ſmall vial, which was carried to the grand ſeignior. The poiſoner was tried in a full divan, and condemned to the gallies; the juſtice of the Turks never inſlicting death for thoſe crimes that have not been perpetrated.

Charles, who could not be perſuaded but that, ſooner or later, he ſhould be able to engage the Turkiſh empire in a war againſt Muſcovy, rejected every propoſal that was made for his peaceable return home. He was continually repreſenting to the Turks the formidable power of that ſame czar, whom he had ſo long deſpiſed. His emiſſaries were perpetually inſinuating that Peter Alexiowitz wanted to make himſelf maſter of the navigation of the Black Sea; and that after having ſubdued the Coſſacks, he would carry his arms into Crim Tartary. Sometimes theſe re-

presentations aroused the Porte, at others the Russian ministers destroyed all their effect.

While Charles XII. made his fate depend upon the caprice of viziers, and while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from a foreign power, presenting petitions to the sultan, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, all his enemies, awakened from their former lethargy, invaded his dominions.

The battle of Pultowa was the first signal to a revolution in Poland. Augustus returned to that country, protesting against his abdication, and the peace of Altranstad, and publicly accusing Charles XII. whom he no longer feared, of robbery and cruelty. He imprisoned Fingsten and Imhoff, his plenipotentiaries, who had signed his abdication, as if in so doing they had exceeded their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had been the pretext of his dethronement, conducted him back to Warsaw, accompanied by most of the Polish palatines, who having formerly sworn fidelity to him, had afterwards done the same to Stanislaus, and were now come to do it again to Augustus. Simiawski himself rejoined his party, and laying aside the ambitious hopes of raising himself to the royal dignity, was content to remain grand-general of the crown. Fleming, his first minister, who had been obliged to leave Saxony, for fear of being delivered up with Patkul, now contributed by his address to bring back to his master's interest a great part of the Polish nobility.

The pope absolved the people from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Stanislaus. This step of the holy father, seasonably taken,
and

and supported by the forces of Augustus, was of considerable weight. It strengthened the credit of the court of Rome in Poland, the natives of which had no inclination at that time to dispute with the sovereign pontiffs their chimerical right of interfering in the temporal concerns of princes. Every one was ready to submit anew to the authority of Augustus, and willingly received an absolution, which, however useless in itself, the nuncio took care to represent as absolutely necessary.

The power of Charles and the grandeur of Sweden, were now drawing towards their last period. Above ten crowned heads had long beheld with fear and envy the Swedish power extending itself far beyond its natural bounds, on the other side of the Baltic sea, from the Duna to the Elbe. The fall of Charles, and his absence, revived the interested views, and re-kindled the jealousies of all these princes, which had for a long time been laid asleep by treaties, and by their inability to break them.

The czar, who was more powerful than all of them put together, improving his late victory, took Vibourg, and all Carelia, over-run Finland, laid siege to Riga, and sent a body of forces into Poland to aid Augustus in recovering his throne. The czar was, at that time what Charles had been formerly, the arbiter of Poland and the North; but all his measures were directed to the promotion of his own interest: whereas Charles had never been prompted by any other motive than those of revenge and glory. The Swedish monarch had succoured his allies and crushed his enemies, without reaping any fruit from his victories.

tories. The czar behaving more like a prince, and less like a hero, would not assist the king of Poland, but on condition that Livonia should be ceded to him; and that that province, for which Augustus had kindled the war, should remain for ever in the possession of the Muscovites.

The king of Denmark, forgetting the treaty of Travendal, as Augustus had that of Altranstad, began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, to which he renewed his pretensions. The king of Prussia had ancient claims upon Swedish Pomerania, which he now resolved to revive. The duke of Mecklenburg was vexed to see that the Swedes were still in possession of Wismar, the finest town in the dutchy. This prince was to marry a niece of the Russian emperor; and the czar wanted only a pretext for establishing himself in Germany, after the example of the Swedes. George, elector of Hanover, was likewise desirous of enriching himself with Charles's spoils. The bishop of Munster too would have been willing enough to avail himself of some of his claims, had he been able to support them.

About twelve or thirteen thousand Swedes defended Pomerania, and the other countries which Charles possessed in Germany; and it was there that the war was most likely to begin. This storm alarmed the emperor and his allies. It is a law of the empire, that whoever invades one of its provinces shall be reputed an enemy to the whole Germanic body.

But there was a still greater difficulty. All these princes, except the czar, were then united against Lewis XIV. whose power, for a long time, had

had been as formidable to the empire as that of Charles.

At the beginning of this century, Germany found itself hard pressed from south to north by the armies of France and Sweden. The French had passed the Danube, and the Swedes the Oder, and had their forces, victorious as they then were, been joined together, the empire had been utterly undone. But the same fatality that ruined Sweden had likewise humbled France. Sweden, however, had still some resources left; and Lewis XIV. carried on the war with vigour, though without success. Should Pomerania and the dutchy of Bremen become the theatre of the war, it was to be feared that the empire would suffer by such an event; and that being weakened on that side, it would be less able to withstand the arms of Lewis XIV. To prevent this danger, the emperor, the princes of the empire, Anne queen of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces concluded at the Hague, about the end of the year 1709, one of the most singular treaties that ever was signed.

It was stipulated by these powers, that the war against the Swedes should not be in Pomerania, nor in any of the German provinces; and that the enemies of Charles XII. should be at liberty to attack him any where else. Even the czar and the king of Poland acceded to this treaty, in which they caused to be inserted an article as extraordinary as the treaty itself, viz. that the twelve thousand Swedes who were in Pomerania should not be allowed to leave it in order to defend their other provinces.

To secure the execution of the treaty, and to maintain this imaginary neutrality, it was proposed

posed to assemble an army, which should encamp on the banks of the Oder. An unheard-of novelty sure, to levy an army in order to prevent a war! nay, the very princes who were to pay the army, were most of them concerned to commence the war which they thus affected to prevent. The treaty imported that the army should be composed of the troops of the emperor, of the king of Prussia, of the elector of Hanover, of the landgrave of Hesse, and of the bishop of Munster.

The issue of this project was such as might naturally have been expected: it was not carried into execution. The princes who were to have furnished their contingents for completing the army, contributed nothing. There were not two regiments formed. Every body talked of a neutrality, but no body observed it; and the princes of the North, who had any quarrel with the king of Sweden, were left at full liberty to dispute with each other the spoils of that prince.

During these transactions, the czar having quartered his troops in Lithuania, and given orders for pushing the siege of Riga, returned to Moscow to shew his people a sight as new as any thing he had hitherto done in the kingdom. This was a triumph of nearly the same nature with that of the ancient Romans. He made his entry into Moscow on the first of January, 1710, under seven triumphant arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing which the climate could furnish, or which a flourishing commerce (rendered such by his care) could import. The procession began with a regiment of guards, followed

lowed by the pieces of artillery taken from the Swedes at Lesno and Pultowa, each of which was drawn by eight horses, covered with scarlet housings hanging down to the ground. Next came the standards, kettle-drums, and colours won at these two battles, carried by the officers and soldiers who had taken them. All these spoils were followed by the finest troops of the czar. After they had filed off, there appeared in a chariot, made on purpose*, the litter of Charles XII. found in the field of battle at Pultowa, all shattered with two cannon shot. Behind the litter marched all the prisoners two and two, among whom was count Piper, first minister of Sweden, the famous mareschal Renschild, the count de Levenhaupt, the generals Slipenback, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, and all the officers, who were afterwards dispersed through Great Russia. Immediately after these appeared the czar himself, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle of Pultowa: a little after him came the generals who had had a share in the success of the day. Next followed a regiment of guards; and the whole was closed by the waggons loaded with the Swedish ammunition.

This grand procession was accompanied with the ringing of all the bells in Moscow, with the sound of drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, and an infinite number of musical instruments, which played

* Here Mr. Norberg, the confessor of Charles XII. finds fault with the author, and affirms that the litter was carried by the soldiers. With regard to these circumstances (which are of great importance to be sure) we appeal to those who saw them.

in concert, together with the volleys of two hundred pieces of cannon, amidst the acclamations of five hundred thousand men, who, at every stop the czar made in this triumphal entry, cried out, "Long live the emperor our father."

This dazzling exhibition augmented the people's veneration for his person, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes than all the solid advantages they had derived from his labours. Mean while he continued the blockade of Riga; and the generals made themselves masters of the rest of Livonia and part of Finland. At the same time the king of Denmark came with his whole fleet to make a descent upon Sweden, where he landed seventeen thousand men, and left them under the command of the count de Reventlau.

Sweden was, at that time, governed by a regency, composed of some senators, who were appointed by the king before he left Stockholm. The body of the senate, imagining that the government of right belonged to them, became jealous of the regency; and the state suffered by these divisions. But, when after the battle of Pultowa, the first news was brought to Stockholm, that the king was at Bender, at the mercy of the Turks and Tartars, and that the Danes had invaded Schonen, and taken the town of Helsingburg, all their jealousies immediately vanished, and they bent their whole attention towards the preservation of the kingdom. Sweden was now drained, in a great measure, of regular troops; for though Charles had always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had fought in the space of
nine

nine years, the necessity he was under of recruiting his forces with continual supplies, and maintaining his garrisons, and the standing army he was constantly obliged to keep in Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden; all these particulars had cost Sweden, during the course of the war, above two hundred and fifty thousand men; so that there were not eight thousand of the ancient troops remaining, which, together with the new-raised militia, was the only resources Sweden had to trust to for the defence of her territories.

The nation is naturally warlike; and all subjects insensibly imbibe the spirit of their sovereign. From one end of the country to the other nothing was talked of but the prodigious achievements of Charles and his generals, and of the old regiments that fought under them at Narva, Duna, Clissau, Pultusk, and Hollofin. Hence the very lowest of the Swedes were fired with a spirit of emulation and glory; and this heroic impulse was greatly augmented by their affection for their king, their pity for his misfortunes, and their implacable hatred to the Danes. In several other countries the peasants are slaves, or treated as such; but here they compose a part of the state, are considered as citizens, and, of consequence, are capable of more exalted sentiments; so that these new-raised militia became, in a short time, the best troops of the North.

General Steinbock, by order of the regency, put himself at the head of eight thousand of the ancient troops, and about twelve thousand of these new militia, to go in pursuit of the Danes, who ravaged all the country about Elsinburg.

and

and had already extorted contributions from some of the more inland provinces.

There was neither time nor opportunity to give regimental cloaths to the new militia. Most of these boors came in their flaxen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. Steinbock, at the head of this strange army, overtook the Danes about three leagues from Elsinburg on the tenth of March, 1710. He had designed to give his troops a few days rest, to raise intrenchments, and to allow his new soldiers a sufficient time to habituate themselves to the face of the enemy; but all the peasants called out for battle the very day on which they arrived.

I have been assured by some of the officers who were present, that they saw almost every individual soldier foaming with rage and choler; so great is the national hatred of the Swedes to the Danes. Steinbock availed himself of this ardour of spirit, which, in the day of battle, is of as much consequence as military discipline. He attacked the Danes; and there one might have seen a thing, to which, perhaps, the whole history of mankind cannot furnish above two similar examples; the new-raised militia, in their first assault, equalled the intrepidity of veteran soldiers. Two regiments of these undisciplined peasants cut in pieces the regiment of the king of Denmark's guards, of which there remained only ten men alive.

The Danes, being entirely routed, retired under the cannon of Elsinburg. The passage from Sweden to Zealand is so short, that the king of Denmark received the news of the defeat of his army in Sweden the same day on which it happened; and

and sent his fleet to bring off the shattered remains of his army. The Danes quitted Sweden with precipitation five days after the battle; but unable to carry off their horses, and unwilling to leave them to the enemy, they killed them all in the suburbs in Elfsinburg, and set fire to their provisions, burning their corn and baggage, and leaving in Elfsinburg four thousand wounded, the greatest part of whom died of the infection, occasioned by so many dead horses and for want of provision, of which even their countrymen deprived them, in order to prevent the Swedes from enjoying any share of it.

Mean while, the peasants of Dalecarlia having heard in the heart of their forests, that their king was a prisoner among the Turks, sent a deputation to the regency of Stockholm, and offered to go at their own expence, to the number of twenty thousand men, to rescue their master from the hands of his enemies. This proposal, which was better calculated to express their courage and loyalty, than to produce any real advantage, was received with pleasure, though it was not accepted; and the senators took care to acquaint the king with it, at the same time that they sent him a circumstantial account of the battle of Elfsinburg.

Charles received this agreeable news in his camp near Bender, in July, 1710. And another event that happened soon after contributed still more to strengthen his hopes.

The grand vizier, Couprougli, who opposed all his designs, was dismissed from his office, after having filled it for two months. The little court of Charles XII. and those who still adhered to him

him in Poland, gave out that Charles made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish empire from his retreat at Bender. But he had no hand in the disgrace of that favourite. The rigid probity of the vizier was said to have been the sole cause of his fall. His predecessor had paid the Janissaries not out of the Imperial treasury, but with the money which he procured by extortion. Couprougli paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interests of the subject to that of the emperor: "Your predecessors, said he, well knew how to find other means of paying my troops." "If, replied the grand vizier, he had the art of enriching your highness by rapine, it is an art of which I am proud to say I am entirely ignorant."

The profound secrecy that prevails in the seraglio, seldom allows such particulars to transpire to the publick; but this fact was published along with Couprougli's disgrace. The vizier's boldness did not cost him his head, because true virtue is sometimes respected, even while it displeases. He was permitted to retire to the island of Negropont. These particulars I learned from the letters of Mr. Bru, my relation, first druggist to the Ottoman Porte, and I have retold them in order to display the true spirit of that government.

After this the grand seignior recalled from Aleppo Balragi Mehemet, basha of Syria, who had been grand vizier before Chourlouli. The baltagis of the seraglio so called from balta, which signifies an axe, are slaves employed to cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman blood,

blood, and the sultanas. This vizier had been a baltagi in his youth, and had ever since retained the name of that office, according to the custom of the Turks, who are not ashamed to take the name of their first profession, or of that of their father, or even of the place of their birth.

While Baltagi Mehemet was a valet in the seraglio, he was so happy as to perform some little services to prince Achmet, who was then a prisoner of state in the reign of his brother Mustapha. The princes of the Ottoman blood are allowed to keep for their pleasure a few women, who are past the age of child-bearing, (and that age arrives very early in Turkey) but still agreeable enough to please. As soon as Achmet became sultan, he gave one of these female slaves, for whom he had had a great affection, in marriage to Baltagi Mehemet. This woman by her intrigues made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him grand vizier again.

When Baltagi Mehemet received the bull of the empire, he found the party of the king of Sweden prevailing in the seraglio. The sultaness Valide, Ali Coumourg, the grand seignior's favourite, the kislar aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janissaries were all for a war against the czar: the sultan was fixed in the same resolution; and the first order he gave the grand vizier was to go and attack the Muscovites with two hundred thousand men. Baltagi had never made a campaign; yet was he not an idiot, as the Swedes, who were dissatisfied with his conduct, affected to represent him. Upon receiving

ceiving from the grand seignior a sabre, adorned with precious stones, he addressed him in the following terms: "Your highness knows, said he, that I was brought up to handle an axe and cleave wood, not to wield a sword and command your armies. Nevertheless, I will endeavour to serve you to the best of my power; but should I fail of success, remember I have entreated you beforehand not to impute the blame to me." The sultan assured him he might depend upon his friendship; and the vizier prepared to carry his orders into execution.

The first step of the Ottoman Porte was to imprison the Russian ambassador in the castle of the Seven Towers. 'Tis the custom of the Turks to begin by arresting the ministers of those princes against whom they declare war. Strict observers of hospitality in every thing else, in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. This injustice, however, they commit under the pretext of equity, believing themselves, or, at least, desirous to make others believe, that they never undertake any but just wars, because they are consecrated by the approbation of their multitudes. Upon this principle they take up arms (as they imagine) to chastise the violators of treaties; and think they have a right to punish the ambassadors of those kings with whom they are at enmity, as being accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

Add to this the ridiculous contempt they affect to entertain for Christian princes, and their ambassadors, the latter of whom they commonly consider in no other light than as the consuls of merchants.

The

The han of Crim Tartary, whom we call the kam, received orders to hold himself in readiness with forty thousand Tartars. This prince is sovereign of Nagai, Budziack, part of Circassia, and all Crim Tartary, a province anciently known by the name of Taurica Chersonesus, into which the Greeks carried their arms and commerce, and founded powerful cities; and into which, in after times, the Genoese penetrated, when they were masters of the trade of Europe. In this country are to be seen the ruins of some Greek cities, and some monuments of the Genoese, which still subsist in the midst of desolation and barbarity.

The kam is called emperor by his own subjects; but with this grand title, he is, nevertheless, the slave of the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the kams are sprung, and the right they pretend to have to the empire of the Turks, upon the failure of the grand seignior's race, render their family respectable, and their persons formidable even to the sultan himself. 'Tis for this reason that the grand seignior dares not venture to destroy the race of the kams of Tartary; though indeed he seldom allows any of these princes to live to a great age. Their conduct is closely inspected by the neighbouring basha's: their dominions are surrounded with janissaries; their inclinations thwarted by the grand viziers; and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of the kam, the Porte deposes him under that pretext. If he is too popular, it is still a higher crime, for which he suffers a more severe punishment. Thus almost all of them are driven from sovereign power into exile, and end their days at Rhodes,

Rhodes, which is commonly their prison and their grave.

The Tartars, their subjects, are the most thievish people on earth, and, what is hardly to be credited, are, at the same time, the most hospitable. They will go fifty leagues from home to attack a caravan, or pillage a town; and yet when any stranger happens to travel through their country, he is not only received, lodged, and maintained every where, but through whatever place he passes, the inhabitants dispute with each other the honour of having him for their guest; and the master of the house, his wife, and daughters, are ambitious to serve him. This inviolable regard to hospitality they have derived from their ancestors the Scythians; and they still preserve it, because the small number of strangers that travel among them, and the low price of all sorts of provisions, render the practice of such a virtue no ways burthensome.

When the Tartars go to war, in conjunction with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the grand seignior, but the booty they get is their only pay; and hence it is that they are much fitter for plundering than fighting.

The kam, won over to the king of Sweden's interest by presents and promises, at first obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the troops at Bender, and even under the eye of Charles XII. in order the more effectually to convince that monarch, that the war was undertaken solely for his sake.

The new vizier, Baltagi Mehemet, who did not lie under the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so highly. He changed the order

order; and Adrianople was the place fixed for the rendezvous of this great army. 'Tis always in the vast and fertile plains of Adrianople that the Turks assemble their armies, when they are going to make war upon the Christians: there the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa repose and refresh themselves for a few weeks; but the grand vizier, in order to anticipate the preparations of the czar, allowed the army but three days rest, and then marched to the Danube, from whence he advanced into Bessarabia.

The Turkish troops now-a-days are not near so formidable as they were in ancient times, when they conquered so many kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe; when, by their great strength of body, their valour, and numbers, they triumphed over enemies less robust and worse disciplined than themselves. But now that the Christians are more expert in the art of war, they seldom fail to beat the Turks in a pitched battle, and even with unequal numbers. If the Ottoman empire hath made some conquests in latter times, it hath only been over the republic of Venice, esteemed more wise than warlike, defended by strangers, and little succoured by the Christian princes, who are perpetually at variance among themselves.

The janissaries and spahis always attack in a confused and disorderly manner: they are incapable of obeying the commands of their general, or of recovering their ranks. Their cavalry, which, considering the goodness and fleetness of their horses, ought to be excellent, is unable to sustain the shock of the German cavalry. Their infantry cannot, even to this day, make use of

fixed bayonets to any purpose. Add to this that the Turks have not had an able general since the time of Couprougli, who conquered the isle of Candia. A slave brought up in the indolence and silence of a seraglio, made a vizier by interest, and a general against his will, led a raw army, without discipline or experience, against Russian troops, hardened by twelve campaigns, and proud of having conquered the Swedes.

The czar, in all appearance, must have vanquished Baltagi Mehemet; but was guilty of the same fault, with regard to the Turks, which the king of Sweden had committed with regard to him: he despised his enemy too much. Upon the first news of the Turkish preparations, he left Moscow, and, having given orders for turning the siege of Riga into a blockade, assembled a body of eighty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland*. With this army he took the road through

* The chaplain Norberg alledges, that the czar compelled every fourth man in his dominions, able to bear arms, to follow him to the field. Had that been the case, his army would have amounted, at least, to two millions of men †.

† Our author seems to have forgot himself on this occasion. In civilized and populous countries, one fifth of the inhabitants is computed as the proportion of men able to carry arms. M. de Voltaire says, the number of people in Muscovy does not exceed fourteen or fifteen millions. The fifth part of fifteen amounts to three; every fourth man, therefore, if chose fit for war, would bring the number to seven hundred and fifty thousand. But great part of the czar's subjects consisted of people who never served in war; such as the Laplanders, the Samoiedes, and the clergy: so that we must understand Norberg as meaning

through Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the country of the Dacee, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributaries to the grand seignior.

Moldavia was, at that time, governed by prince Cantemir, a Grecian by birth, and who united in his person the talents of the ancient Greeks, the knowledge of letters and of arms. He was supposed to have sprung from the famous Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. This extraction appeared more honourable than a Greek origin; and the reality of the descent is proved by the name of the conqueror. Timur, it is said, resembles Temir: the title of Can, which Timur possessed before he conquered Asia, is included in the word Cantemir: therefore prince Cantemir is descended from Tamerlane. Such are the foundations of most genealogies!

From whatever family Cantemir was sprung, he owed all his fortune to the Ottoman Porte. Hardly had he received the investiture of his principality, when he betrayed his benefactor the Turkish emperor to the czar, from whom he expected greater advantages. He fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over a vizier of so little reputation, who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his Kiaia, or lieutenant, the superintendant of the customs in Turkey. He made no question but all his subjects would readily follow his standard, as the Greek patriarchs encouraged him in

meaning no more than that Peter enlisted every fourth man of the peasants actually found in the country, properly called Muscovy.

his revolt. The czar, therefore, having made a secret treaty with this prince, and received him into his army, advanced farther into the country ; and in June 1711, arrived on the northern banks of the river Hierafus, now Pruth, near Jazy, the capital of Moldavia.

As soon as the grand vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was advancing on that side, he immediately decamped, and following the course of the Danube, resolved to cross the river on a bridge of boats, near a town called Saccia, at the same place where Darius formerly built the bridge that long went by his name. The Turkish army proceeded with so much expedition, that it soon came in sight of the Muscovites, the river Pruth being between them.

The czar, sure of the prince of Moldavia, never dreamed that the Moldavians would fail him. But it frequently happens that the interest of the prince and that of the subjects are extremely different. The Moldavians liked the Turkish government, which is never fatal to any but the grandees, and affects a great lenity and mildness to its tributary states. They dreaded the Christians, and especially the Muscovites, who had always treated them with inhumanity. They carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army.

The undertakers who had engaged to furnish the Russians with provisions, performed that contract with the grand vizier which they had made with the czar. The Walachians, who border upon the Moldavians, discovered the same attachment to the Turks ; so much had the remembrance of the Russian cruelty alienated all their affections.

The czar thus balked of his hopes, which perhaps he had too rashly entertained, saw his army on a sudden destitute of forage and provisions. The soldiers deserted in troops; and the army was soon reduced to less than thirty thousand men, ready to perish with hunger. The czar experienced the same misfortunes upon the banks of the Pruth, in having delivered himself up to Cantemir, that Charles XII. had done at Pultowa, in relying upon Mazeppa. The Turks mean while passed the river, harassed in the Russians, and formed an entrenched camp before them. It is somewhat surprising that the czar did not dispute the passage of the river, or, at least, repair this error by attacking the Turks immediately after the passage, instead of giving them time to destroy his army by hunger and fatigue. It would seem, indeed, that Peter did every thing in this campaign to hasten his own ruin. He found himself without provision; the river Pruth behind him; an hundred and fifty thousand Turks before him; while forty thousand Tartars were continually harassing his army on the right and left. In this extremity, he made no scruple of acknowledging in public, that he was at least reduced to as bad a condition as his brother Charles had been at Pultowa.

Count Poniatowsky, an indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier's army, together with some Poles and Swedes, all of whom considered the ruin of the czar as inevitable.

As soon as Poniatowsky saw that the armies must infallibly come to an engagement, he sent an express to the king of Sweden, who immedi-

ately set out from Bender, accompanied with forty officers, anticipating the mighty pleasure he should have in fighting the emperor of Muscovy. After many losses, and several marches in which he suffered severely, the czar was driven back to the Pruth, without any other defence than a chevaux de frize, and a few waggons. A part of the janissaries and spahis attacked his army in this disadvantageous situation; but their attack was disorderly, and the Russians defended themselves with a firmness and resolution, which nothing but despair and the presence of their prince could inspire.

The Turks were twice repulsed. Next day Mr. Poniatowsky advised the grand vizier to starve the Russian army, which being in want of every thing, would, together with its emperor, be obliged in a day's time to surrender at discretion.

The czar, since that time, hath more than once acknowledged, that, in the whole course of his life, he never felt any thing so exquisitely tormenting as the perturbation of mind in which he passed that night. He revolved in his thoughts all that he had been doing for so many years, to promote the glory and happiness of his country. He reflected that so many grand undertakings, which had always been interrupted by wars, were now, perhaps, going to perish with him, before they were fully accomplished. And he plainly perceived, that he must either be destroyed by famine, or attack about an hundred and eighty thousand men with feeble and dispirited troops, diminished one half in their number, the cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and the infantry exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

He

He sent for general Czeremetof in the evening, and, without the least hesitation, or even so much as asking any one's advice, ordered him to have every thing in readiness next morning for attacking the Turks with fixed bayonets.

He likewise gave express orders that all the baggage should be burnt, and that no officer should keep above one waggon; that so, in case of a defeat, the enemy might not obtain the booty they expected.

Having settled every thing with the general relating to the battle, he retired to his tent, oppressed with grief, and racked with convulsions, a disease which often attacked him, and always recurred with redoubled violence, when he was under any perturbation of mind. He gave peremptory orders that no one should presume, under any pretext whatsoever, to enter his tent in the night; not chusing to receive any remonstrances against a resolution, which, however desperate, was absolutely necessary, and still less that any one should be a witness of the melancholy condition in which he was.

Mean while the greatest part of the baggage was burnt, according to his orders. All the army followed the example, though with much reluctance; and several buried their most valuable effects in the earth. The general officers were already giving orders for the march, and endeavouring to inspire the army with that courage which themselves did not possess. The soldiers, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, advanced without spirit and without hope. The women, with which the army was but too much crowded, set up the most lamentable shrieks and cries,

which contributed still more to enervate the men; and next morning every one expected death or slavery, as the only alternative. This picture is by no means exaggerated: it is exactly agreeable to the accounts that were given by some officers who served in the army.

There was, at that time, in the Russian camp, a woman as extraordinary, perhaps, as the czar himself. As yet she was known only by the name of Catharine. Her mother was a poor country-woman, called Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen in Estonia, a province where the people held by villenage, and which was then subject to the Swedes. She never knew her father; but was baptized by the name of Martha. The vicar of the parish, out of pure charity, brought her up to the age of fourteen; after which she went to service at Marienburg, and hired herself to a Lutheran minister of that country, called Gluk.

In 1702, being then eighteen years of age, she married a Swedish dragoon. The day immediately succeeding her marriage, a party of the Swedish troops having been defeated by the Muscovites, the dragoon, who was in the action, disappeared, and was never heard of more; but whether or not he was taken prisoner, his wife could never learn, nor indeed from that time could she ever procure the least intelligence about him.

A few days after, being made a prisoner herself by general Baur, she entered into his service, and afterwards into that of mareschal Czeremetof, by whom she was given to Menzikoff, a man who experienced the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, having from a pastry-cook's boy been raised

raised to the rank of a general and a prince, and at last stripped of every thing and banished into Siberia, where he ended his days in misery and despair.

The first time the emperor saw her was one evening as he was at supper with prince Menzikoff, when he instantly fell in love with her. He married her privately in 1707: not seduced into this step by the artifices of the woman, but because he found her possessed of a strength and firmness of mind capable of seconding his schemes, and even of continuing them after his death. He had long before divorced his first wife Ottokesa, the daughter of a boyard, who was accused of opposing the alterations which he was introducing into his dominions. This crime, in the eyes of the czar, was the most heinous of all others. He would have no body in his family whose thoughts did not exactly correspond with his. He imagined he could discern in this foreign slave the qualities of a sovereign, though she had none of the virtues of her sex. For her sake he disdained and broke through the prejudices that would have fettered a man of an ordinary capacity. He caused her to be crowned empress. The same talents which made her the wife of Peter Alexiowitz, procured her the empire after the death of her husband; and Europe hath beheld with surprise a woman who could neither read* nor write, com-

* The *Sieur de la Motraye* pretends that she had a good education, and could both read and write with great facility. The contrary of this, however, is known to all the world. The peasants of Livonia are never allowed to learn

compensating the want of education, and the weakness of her sex, by her invincible courage and resolution, and filling with glory the throne of a legislator.

When she married the czar, she renounced the Lutheran religion, in which she had been born, and embraced that of Muscovy. She was re-baptized, according to the rules of the Russian church, and instead of Martha, she took the name of Catharine, by which she was ever after known. This woman, being at the camp at Pruth, held a council with the general officers and the vice-chancellor, Schaffirof, while the czar was in his tent.

The result of their deliberations was, that they must necessarily sue for a peace to the Turks, and endeavour to persuade the czar to agree to such a measure. The vice-chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier in his master's name. This letter the czarina carried to the emperor's tent, notwithstanding his prohibition; and having with tears and intreaties prevailed upon him to sign it, she forthwith collected all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects, together with what money she could borrow from the general officers, and having by these means made up a considerable present, she sent it, with the czar's

learn either to read or write, owing to an ancient privilege, which is termed the benefit of clergy, formerly established among the barbarians who were converted to Christianity, and still subsisting in this country. The memoirs from which we have extracted this anecdote, farther add, that the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress, always signed for her mother, from the time she could write,

letter

letter, to Osman Aga, lieutenant to the grand vizier. Mehemet Baltagi replied with the lofty air of a vizier and a conqueror, "Let the czar send me his prime minister, and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor, Schaffirof, immediately repaired to the Turkish camp, with some presents which he publicly offered to the grand vizier, sufficient to shew him that they stood in need of his clemency, but too inconsiderable to corrupt his integrity.

The vizier at first demanded, that the czar, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion. The vice-chancellor replied, that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of an hour, and that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions. Schaffirof's application was strongly seconded by the remonstrances of Osman.

Mehemet Baltagi was no warrior: he saw that the janissaries had been repulsed the day before; so that Osman easily prevailed upon him not to risk such certain advantages upon the fate of a battle. He accordingly granted a suspension of arms for six hours, in which time the terms of the treaty might be fully settled.

During the parley, there happened a trifling incident, which plainly shews that the Turks often keep their word with a more scrupulous exactness than we imagine. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of M. Brillo, lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar's service, having gone to some distance in quest of forage, were taken prisoners by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries. The Turk

enraged at their presumption, in having thus violated the truce, arrested the Tartars, and carried them himself before the grand vizier, together with the two prisoners.

The vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the czar's camp, and ordered the Tartars, who had been chiefly concerned in carrying them off, to be beheaded.

Mean while the Kam of Tartary opposed the conclusion of the treaty, which would deprive him of all hopes of plunder; and Poniatowsky seconded the Kam with the strongest arguments. But Osman carried his point against the importunity of the Tartar, and the insinuations of Poniatowsky.

The vizier thought, that by concluding an advantageous peace, he should sufficiently consult the honour and interest of his master. He insisted that the Russians should restore Azoph, burn the galleys which lay in that harbour, demolish the important citadels built upon the Palus Mæotis, and deliver all the cannon and ammunition of these fortresses into the hands of the grand seignior; that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther disturbance to the few Cossacks that were under the protection of the Poles, nor to those who were subject to the Turks; and that for the future he should pay the Tartars an annual subsidy of forty thousand sequins; an odious tribute long since imposed, but from which the czar had delivered his country.

At last the treaty was going to be signed, without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowsky could obtain of the vizier was to insert an article, by which the

czar

czar bound himself not to incommode the king in his return. And what is very remarkable, it was stipulated in this article, that the czar and Charles should make peace if they thought proper, and could agree upon the terms.

On these conditions the czar was permitted to retire with his army, cannon, artillery, colours, and baggage. The Turks supplied him with provisions, and he had plenty of every thing in his camp two hours after the signing of the treaty, which was begun, concluded, and signed the twenty-first of July 1711.

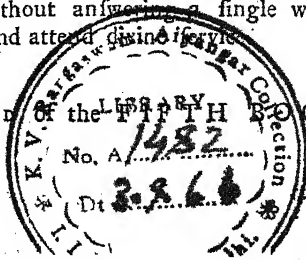
Just as the czar, now extricated from this terrible dilemma, was marching off with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the fight, and happy in the thoughts of having his enemy in his power. He had rid post above fifty leagues from Bender to Jazy. He arrived the very moment that the Russians were beginning to retire in peace; but he could not penetrate to the Turkish camp, without passing the Pruth by a bridge, three leagues distant. Charles XII. who never did any thing like other men, swam across the river, at the hazard of being drowned, and traversed the Russian camp at the risk of being taken. At length he reached the Turkish army, and alighted at the tent of Poniatowsky, who informed me of all these particulars, both by letter and word of mouth. The count came to him with a sorrowful countenance, and told him that he had lost an opportunity, which perhaps he would never be able to recover.

The king, enflamed with resentment, flew straight away to the tent of the grand vizier, and

and with a stern air, reproached him with the treaty he had made. "I have a right, says the grand vizier, with a calm aspect, either to make peace or war." "But, adds the king, have not you the whole Russian army in your power?" "Our law commands us, replies the vizier with great gravity, to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our mercy." "And does it command you, resumes the king in a passion, to make a bad treaty, when you may impose what laws you please? had not you a fair opportunity, if you would have embraced it, of leading the czar a prisoner to Constantinople?"

The Turk, driven to this extremity, replied very coldly, "And who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all kings should leave their dominions." Charles made no other answer, than by a smile of indignation. He then threw himself down upon a sofa, and eying the vizier with an air of contempt and resentment, stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in the Turk's robe, purposely tore it: after which, he rose up, remounted his horse, and with a sorrowful heart returned to Bender. Poniatowsky continued some time longer with the grand vizier, to try if he could not prevail upon him by more gentle means, to extort greater concessions from the czar; but the hour of prayer being come, the Turk, without answering a single word, went to wash and attend divine service.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.



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